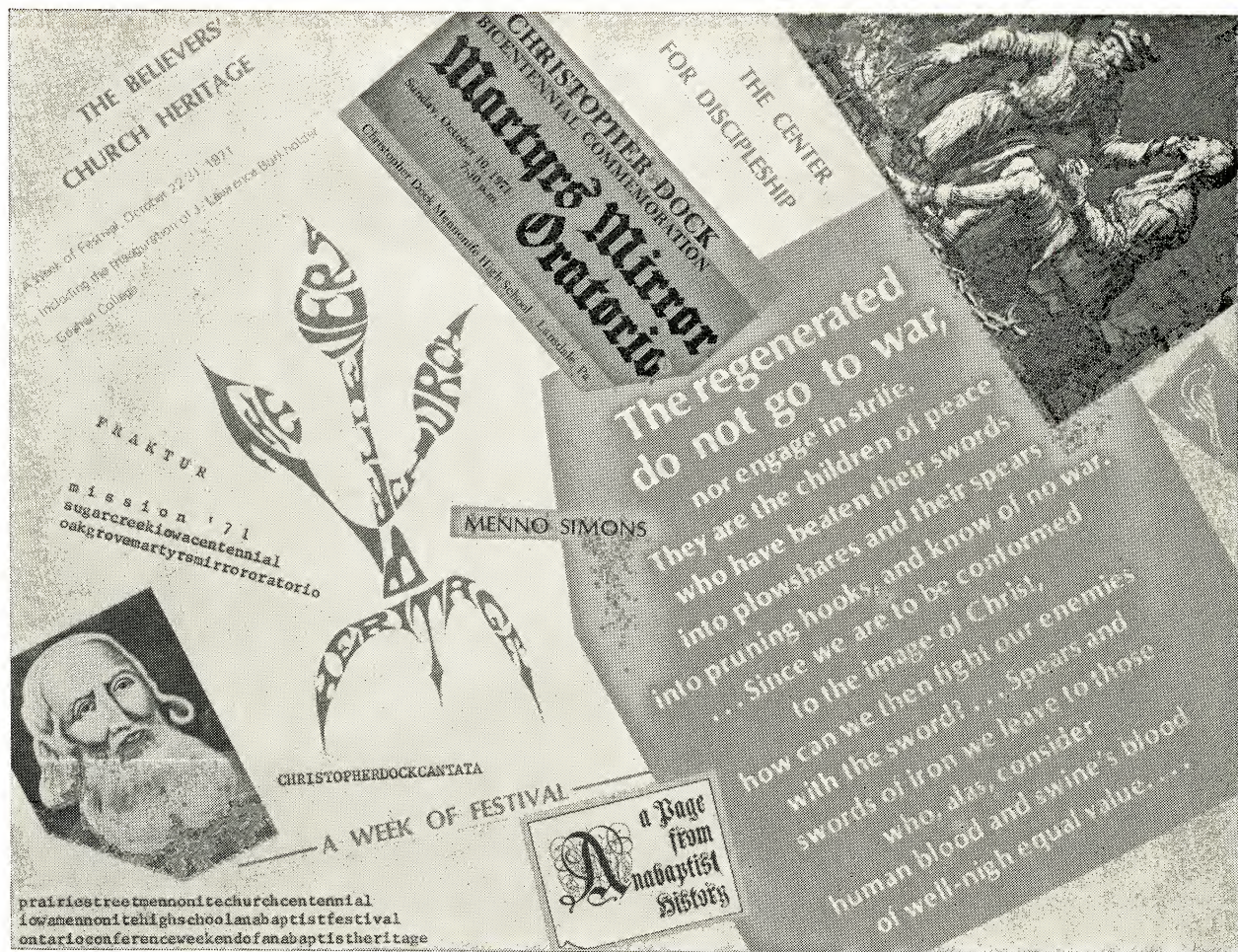


MENNONITE HISTORICAL BULLETIN

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HISTORY AND THE MENNONITE CHURCH, 1971/72

Recent interest in the Anabaptist-Mennonite heritage has not remained simply an academic discipline or historian's delight. There is solid indication that such understanding of heritage has helped strengthen the Mennonite brotherhoods in ways that have been pretty basic throughout the centuries: the stance on war and peace; mission which includes material relief as well as spiritual ministry; a conscious, definite separatism between church and world (and its government); differentiating between the "prophetic" and protest, and bringing them into a healthy balance. Mennonites have moved since 1964. Movement notwithstanding, there are signs that church unity is taking on renewed dimensions. Is this, once again, due in no small part to a common, serious appraisal of our own four-hundred-fifty-year-old heritage?

It is true that men's activity is not unquestionably to be taken as God's work. Yet the hints and leadings within these most recent years were not the work of one man or a council of men. They are far broader and much deeper than consciously organized activity of mere men. Something is in the air, the substance of which is quite set apart from "that which hath preceded." Where is the new mandate from Heaven to lead us? L.G.

Tracing Family History: Its Meaning for Me

PHILIPP HUNSINGER

How does a genealogist react when he suddenly realizes that part of his family heritage is Anabaptist-Mennonite? The elderly Hungarian-born author of the following article reflects upon his spiritual-historical quest. He communicates exactly how he joins hands with his (heretofore unknown) tradition. Hunsinger lives in Paw-Paw, Michigan. L.G.

Humanly viewed, probably everyone has some understanding for the desire to know one's family history—origins, migrations, settlements, spread, etc.

Research on the Hunsinger family and its history has directed me, as a direct descendant, along a different line. I have discovered that my forefathers were children of God, and it is this aspect which has occupied me. In faith I have comprehended that all of God's promises are Yea and Amen in him (II Cor. 1:20), and that it is quite possible that one of my ancestors pleaded with God, "Lord, preserve thy glorious name in our descendants." And so I rejoice in the belief that it is truly an answer to the prayers of my forefathers, and that the Lord blesses the descendants of those who love him to the thousandth generation. And I am therefore conducting my family research prayerfully. Dates and factual accounts are of less significance to me than the deeper historical evidence that I am looking for.

As a member of the Huntzinger-Hunsicker - Hunzicker - Hunsinger family (on the basis of the *Mennonitisches Lexikon* and J. C. Wenger's *History of the Mennonites of the Franconia Conference*), I regret to learn that some of the Huntzingers left this church or were expelled from it, so that it can be said of the entire family that it has been dismissed into the world. It has been substantiated that the adherence of the first Mennonites to the Lord and Savior Jesus Christ in the simplicity of faith has made them witnesses to God; they held their lives to be worthless in comparison with God's love and were willing to give their lives for the sake of their faith.

This is the purpose of my genealogical research. I therefore pray that I will be successful in finding my many Mennonite ancestors who have been forgotten, having been expelled individually from the country before 1672 and left to fend for themselves, without a home or means of sustenance, indeed persecuted and nowhere tolerated and unable to find a congregation of God's children.

They were scattered into all countries, like my immediate forefathers in Hungary, and have never found a place in Mennonite history, although Ernst H. Correll, in his *Das schweizerische Täufermennonitentum* (p. 103) very clearly speaks about this dispersion. Nor has anyone investigated the report that the "Jura Brethren" (a group probably dwelling within the Jura Mountains in Eastern France) afforded them a home for a time.

A further reference is found in secular literature, in the first issue (1822) of Johann Eimann's *Der deutsche Kolonist*, concerning the Mennonites in Hungary: On April 15, 1784, Röthlein, an agent seeking settlers for Hungary, reported that some Mennonites (Weidertäufer) reported to him as applicants for emigration. He was given permission to accept them by the Austrian government! Eimann took a certificate to Vienna which attested to his Mennonite descent (pp. 108, 110). In the 1965 issue (p. 105) Professor Friedrich Lotz writes: "The Protestant sect of the Mennonites (Anabaptists), who were persecuted for the sake of their faith, afforded numerous settlers in the colonization of the East and South-East. For these refugees seeking religious freedom Poland and Hungary were true havens of refuge. Also among the Batschka colonists were found a number of Mennonites from Hesse and the Palatinate."

The register of members of the Protestant-Reformed community, New-Siwatz, in the Batschka region of South Hungary (North Yugoslavia since the First World War), lists several names of Mennonite origin. Thus my research has had direct bearing on the fact that there were and are in Hungary the same names as are found, for example, also in Goshen or Elkhart, Indiana.

On the Hutterites

From the Diary of Friedrich Herring, Goshen, Indiana

April 9, 1877. Today I discovered through the *Gemeindeblatt der Mennoniten* edited by Ulrich Hege in Reichen, Baden, in Germany several reports about the Anabaptists called "Habaner": there is a congregation of two hundred members in Sobotiste in Hungary, a not unimportant place. These Habaners live in a section of the town, isolated from the others, like the members of the Brüdergemeinde in Neuweid on the Rhine and formerly also here. Their houses have the peculiar fire-proof roofs. They are Germans, as were all the sixty Anabaptist communes formerly in Moravia. See *Geschichte der böhmischen Brüder* (History of the Bohemian Brethren) by Anton Gindely, Prague, C. Bellman publisher, 1857, Vol. I, pp. 210-215. This Habaner congregation still retains something of the community of goods of their forefathers. There is a second community of these Habaner in Gross-Schutzen, not far from the German border. Two hundred years ago their ancestors emigrated from the Leidenburg area of Moravia, because they were to be suppressed, to Hungary; there they had religious freedom for 100 years, including freedom from having to perform military service and freedom not to baptize their children before the age of seven. They have the New Testament of Erasmus of Rotterdam in the German language with a foreword by Leo Jud, the Swiss Reformer. Significant for the toleration [of the Lords] for these people is the fact that in their exposition of Revelation 13:11 the second beast refers to the Roman Pope. Also at the Black Sea some Habaner communes are said to exist.

Now some of these people are living in Dakota here in America, with whom I correspond: an Elder by the name of Paul Tschetter and Joseph Hofer, Bruderhof at Wolfscreek, near Yankton. These dear people and brethren in Christ now practice community of goods in faith and in the Holy Spirit. They will probably accept the rite of baptism by trine immersion instead of the human [institution] of baptism by pouring which they have hitherto practiced.

(Translated by Elizabeth Bender. Original in the Archives of the Mennonite Church, Hist. Mss. 1-142).

A Tribute to S. C. Yoder

STANLEY C. SHENK

My close personal acquaintance with S. C. Yoder began when he was already an old man. At least he was at an age that one would consider advanced in almost anyone else. He was nearly eighty-six. But "S.C." was not old in mind and spirit or in compassion and humor.

I arrived at Goshen College as a Bible teacher in August, 1965, and was given half of the large office in the southeast corner of the Seminary Building. S. C. was my office mate. And that is where I learned to know him. I will always regret that in the two and a half years of our "life together," I was so pushed and pulled by teaching new courses and preparing for a university German exam that I had little time for extended conversations. He sensed my problems and was gracious. Yet he longed for fellowship and I thoroughly enjoyed hearing stories of his life, and sometimes we talked at length. Afterwards I would always jot down and file away his stories. They expressed both the salt and compassion of his personality, and they were windows on another age. I knew I would not pass this way again. Here are some of the things he shared with me.

On a winter day in early 1966 he walked into the office, sat down, and said, "The days go past and some of them go pretty fast." I then read to him the words of the aged Jacob to Pharaoh in Genesis 47: "... few and evil have the days of the years of my life been..." I asked him, "Would you say that about the days and years of your life?"

He chuckled. "No, I wouldn't say they were evil, but I'd say they were *hard!*"

On another occasion during that same winter he commented on his age, and then said, "People talk about hard work. I don't believe it's as dangerous as people think it is. I've always worked hard." After speaking briefly of his Amish boyhood, he said, "When I was eleven, my greatest ambition was to run a steam engine on a threshing rig. And at 18, I was in charge of a threshing rig steam engine in northern Iowa. A pretty big job for a young fellow."

He then went on to tell of his hard experiences as president of Goshen College. "I'll tell *you* I went through the fire here." He spoke of several critics within the Indiana-Michigan Conference and said, "They'd pick up every little thing they could find." One of the problems was the robust conviction of these men that S. C. should hire only

faculty members who wore the plain garb. Only a few days before his death one of these men wrote S. C. and asked forgiveness for things he had said. "It was easy," S. C. said, "for me to forgive him."

"I'm sure it was easy for you to forgive him," I replied. "I believe you're a forgiving person."

"I had to *learn* that; it wasn't easy for me to forgive as a young man."

On this same occasion S. C. stated that the annual Indiana-Michigan church conferences were a trial to him. "A group of conference men would sometimes come to the college on the day before conference, and I'd explain the situation, and they would be rather understanding. And then on the next day we'd get the biggest rubbing-up in conference you ever saw. Made you feel like never going to a conference again."

He spoke of the difficult days of the Great Depression. "It was hard going; it was awful going. Faculty members took students' [promissory] notes so the students could enter college. I'd send them over to Chris Graber and take their notes against my salary. All of the students paid me back."

"Did any of them ever give you any problems in relation to repayment?"

"Only one. After she left college and got a teaching job, I wrote to her and didn't get any answer. Finally I sent her a letter and said that if she didn't reply I would write her superintendent. She answered right away and said, 'please don't write *him*; he's the father of my fiancé.' She paid up."

On the morning of November 19, 1965, S. C. and I walked from the Seminary Building to the College Church. We knew that Paul Mininger, President of Goshen College (1954-1970) was to speak in chapel that morning and announce to the students the gift of a million dollars from Harold and Wilma Good for a new Goshen College library. As we walked, S. C. said, "Back in those early days when I was President, we were as glad to get \$100.00 as Paul Mininger is to get a million. People didn't know whether the college would make it. Then came that Depression. I'll tell you now it was hard going. It was awful hard going."

One day he received a phone call from a nearby high school. The principal wanted him to speak to the students about the "old West." S. C. gave his assent, placed the receiver on its cradle, and then turned to me with a quizzical look. "I wonder," he said slowly, "how edifying it is to go around and tell stories about the old West. These high

schools have enough blood and thunder as it is."

On the morning of June 29, 1971, I visited him at the Pleasantview Home in Kalona, Iowa. He was in fine fettle, and we talked for an hour. It seemed almost impossible that this alert and expressive man was actually 91 years of age.

At one point he said, "We have made many moves, but this was the hardest one, and I guess it will be the last one. I couldn't ask for a nicer place; they treat us fine here at Pleasantview Home. But I miss young people. I never had any trouble with them."

These anecdotes and quotations express (to a degree) part of the wonderful spirit of S. C. Yoder. I think of this little article as my tribute to him.

A Half-Hour with Kagawa, October 11, 1950

GEORGE J. LAPP

The writer cherishes the privilege of a half-hour conference with Toyohiko Kagawa in the Sherman Hotel, Chicago, on Wednesday the 11th of October [1950]. We had received a telegram the previous day granting the interview. It was arranged that we should meet him immediately following his address to the Congress of the National Cooperative League. Delegates from the United States and Canada and also from foreign countries were in attendance. They numbered about seven hundred. The chairman read greetings from President Truman and from the Governor of Illinois and other notables. It evidently was of more than local significance. We felt it a special privilege to be counted as a guest at the noon luncheon and at any of the sessions I might desire to attend.

But it was the closeted visit with Dr. Kagawa which we cherished most. It was here that he expressed his innermost burden for his own country. Having visited Japan four times we could in part understand his reason for such deep concern. In 1932 and '33 we had the privilege of corresponding with Kagawa and his associates Dr. Henry Topping and their daughter Helen Topping in regard to the Christian social and economic program in which they were vitally interested. Years ago Kagawa had taken up the cause of the slum-dwellers and other underprivileged classes of Japan. As he became increasingly interested in evangelism, and himself carried on evangelistic campaigns, he also conceived the need of a program of Christian welfare and peace

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Another John F. Funk Letter: On the Wisler Schism

Thoughts contained in a letter finally stamped and posted sometimes turn out quite different from those first thoughts and reactions of the sender. Often a writer's first thoughts are not there to be captured. Yet we do have such thoughts set down by John F. Funk the day a letter arrived, in a letter which was never sent. The letter which Funk completed and posted was printed in the January 1971 MHB. The letter which was left unfinished is published below. It is published in this context in light of Funk's interpretation of the larger historical picture which surrounded the Wisler episode.

Which version of the letter reflects most honestly the thoughts of Funk? In the letter published below there is an openness which speaks to the character of a man, in this instance of a man who becomes a bit weary of it all, before mustering up new courage and affirming in the letter finally sent some two weeks later: "I can take everything and bear everything, even if it comes pretty hard." L.G.

Elkhart, Indiana
February 21, 1878

Dear Brother Clemmer,

To begin with, I wish you much grace and peace from God the dear Heavenly Father, and the pure love of Jesus Christ and the co-working strength of his good and Holy Spirit. May he lead and guide and protect us to our blessed end. Amen.

Your letter of the 17th I received this evening, and, to be honest I must confess freely that I did not read it with pleasure, but with great sadness in my heart. Although the Savior says, "Be glad when men shall speak all manner of evil against you falsely," still I cannot say that it gives me pleasure or that I am happy at the present moment about such things as you have heard against us. I am almost weary of the strife. Sometimes it seems like a fight against the wind or air, about which the Apostle writes (I Cor. 9:26): "I therefore so run, not as uncertainly; so fight I, not as one that beateth the air," etc., but we are fighting as those that beat the air.

In the whole affair in which we are now involved we are like the boy chasing a butterfly—when he thinks now he will catch it, it has already flown away, and he chases around all day long and comes home in the evening tired and exhausted and still has not caught it.

So letters are passing around everywhere from congregation to congregation—who writes them I do not know nor do I care, but they do get written, and in these letters people are chasing butterflies all day long, or beating the air, to find reason and cause to run down the reputation of a fellow man that they do not love, and to cast suspicion on his good name (if by any chance he has anything of that kind left) and to stir up prejudice against him and thereby make him reprehensible. People in the distance believe it (one cannot blame them too much); they think they have now really

caught a butterfly, and have it securely in hand; then they write to find out whether they have really caught a butterfly, or whether what they have in their hand is really a butterfly or not; then they learn that in the end there was no butterfly there at all. So it is all too often with this letter-writing.

Wisler and his supporters write. They are busy writers; they write many letters; they also travel and tell the Brethren round about, especially what they have seen with their eyes and heard with their ears—they must really have sharp ears and eyes, for (as the Savior says) instead of having eyes and not seeing, ears and not hearing, they see what was never there to be seen and hear what was never there to be heard. In one letter, Funk has built a grand house; in another he rides around in a grand carriage that is not suitable for a man of his position; in another, his home is too beautifully furnished; in still another he has two coats—a plain one and a fashionable one; and so on, many more.

Now comes the clamor. Funk holds protracted meetings, prayer-meetings, and the like, and that they have ornamental lamps in their meetinghouses. Now, to resist all this and to undo it and tell people the truth, one must write many letters and inform people. Otherwise, if I were silent, they would say: It is in fact true; he cannot give an account of himself, therefore he is silent. And if I write they say: Well, he only wants to present a nice picture of his side and run the other side down. And so I must also chase the butterfly. And so, letters are written where there was nothing to write about; people believe where there was nothing to believe, and one defends himself against things that never existed. So the whole affair is a vapor—a beating of the air.

I would gladly defend myself if there were anything to defend or answer for; to write a long letter to

defend myself against nothing—that is repulsive to me. And then, after all the trouble, people refuse to believe us. With all these thoughts I almost decided not to write you a word in reply. But then I thought this would not be in line with love, and at once proceeded to write this letter.

But just a word here—You told me I should not write you anything but what I can substantiate. Have I ever, even once, written you anything I could not substantiate? If so, take up your Testament: Matt. 18:15-18 or I Cor. 5, and do not call me *Brother* any longer if I write untruths; then I do not want to be called *Brother*. If this is too sharp, I ask for patience and forbearance. May the Lord forgive me—for I do not want to write an untruth. The whole matter is too serious, too important to be treated sinfully. I have often wished it were different, but I can console myself solely with God's Word: "All things work together for good to them that love the Lord." And so this affair, even though it is in itself not good, must work for the good to those who love God and walk uprightly.

But now to the matter in hand: That prayer meetings have been held in or among the Mennonite churches, or are being held—that is, as far as I know in Indiana—is *an open and wicked untruth*. I know of only one case where any such attempt was made, and that was by Daniel Brenneman one time when he came back from Canada and arranged such a meeting with a Brother on a certain Sunday afternoon. That was before he was "set back" by the congregation. But because his idea found no approval he did not try it again as long as he was in the church. But in Canada, as you probably know, holding an orderly prayer meeting is not prohibited, i.e., in the old church. But with us it is not permitted. It happens sometimes when a number of brethren and sisters meet on the occasion of a visit, or when visits are made to widows and other aged feeble people who desire it, that a Scripture passage is read, a hymn or sometimes two sung, followed by admonition and prayer, just as I have seen among you; but among us no prayermeetings of any kind are held—perhaps it would be better if all of us would pray more in the spirit and in accord with the teaching of the dear Savior in Matt. 6—including those who accuse us. May the Lord forgive them and grant them the grace to be more honest. The above story about prayer meetings is actually the same thing as what I heard earlier, i.e., that we have protracted meetings extending

over four evenings, which is likewise false. This was supposed to have been said in Ohio. By the time it reached Pennsylvania it was *prayer meetings* and a whole week. Well, you can see how it goes. Such a story never gets smaller. The farther it spreads, the larger it grows.

Now concerning evening meetings. It happens frequently that evening meetings are held when ministers come from a distance. There were several evening meetings at the time of our conference, but at different places. If I am not mistaken there was a meeting on Thursday evening, on Saturday evening at two places but pretty far apart, and then on Sunday evening there was a meeting here in the city of Elkhart. And now this winter, since October 11 or 12, there was one evening meeting in our churches as far as I know, for a country church. These were all properly arranged for, and with one exception served by visiting ministers. So far we have not become guilty of any violation, because the conferences have always permitted it when visiting ministers are present—just as I and Brother Walton served at such a meeting in Norristown last summer, and you did not accuse us. Now understand me correctly: So far I have been speaking or writing about our rural congregations. I live in town. My next meeting will be seven miles away in the country. Every other week we have a German meeting because we have German members who do not understand English. We had a brother earlier who was English and got very little benefit from the German. He was born in England. But he recently moved away. Now to give him and other English people who like to attend our meetings an opportunity to hear the gospel preached we held an English meeting on Sunday evening. Our congregation in town is small and everything proceeds in good order, and so we thought that it would harm no one and that no one could forbid it. But if anyone can prove that it is wrong, we are ready to abandon it. But no one, not even those who blame us most severely, has said a word against it that I have heard. In the country I do not consider it edifying or useful to have frequent evening meetings. Besides, our conference has never made any objection. It was only disorder that they censured, and where disorder exists of course all worship is vain. And now if this is to be censured, put the whole blame on me. I will be responsible for it. If it is contrary to the spirit

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One Century Ago: The Birth of the Wislerites

The Old Order (Wisler) Mennonite Church started on its separate denominational path exactly one hundred years ago. The noteworthy growth of this branch of the Believers Church and the present positive spirit within this rather widely-spread brotherhood, suggests a commemorative note in the BULLETIN.

Circumstances which led to the schism in themselves hardly merit celebration, we may grant. Yet what is the history assignment to be learned? Fact: On 6 January 1872 Jacob Wisler (1808-1889) and his followers were excommunicated from the Mennonite Church. Support from Ohio, and then Pennsylvania soon followed, and another Mennonite branch became reality.

But this is not the whole story. One can read a condensed account by J. C. Wenger, "Old Order Mennonites," in the MENNONITE ENCYCLOPEDIA. To show something of the spirit of the times, two documents are published below from which a few important clues emerge: At the local scene, the schism notwithstanding, there was communication between the two groups. John F. Funk and Jacob Wisler remained on speaking terms. The two groups even shared the same meetinghouse (see also the January 1971 BULLETIN).

Perhaps still more important, however, is the Georg Weber letter to Johannes Kreider and Benjamin Horst, concerning the former's regrets about his having placed a signature on that document which, in turn, placed that harsh stamp of judgment upon Jacob Wisler and many like-minded brethren.

Amos B. Hoover (Denver, Pa.), presently writing a book on the Old Order Mennonite Church, considers this letter "very important" for interpreting the story of the 1860s and '70s. (He also mentions in a letter of October 30, 1971, that the Jacob Mensch Collection of letters—newly acquired by the Eastern Pennsylvania Mennonite Historical Library, located at Christopher Dock High School, Lansdale—is rich in the 1880 to '95 era of Old Order Mennonite history.) L.G.

A Plea for Peace and Unity

[to Johannes Kreider (Greider) and Benjamin Horst], August 20, 1873

... I am letting you know, dear Brother, that since last spring I have been in much trouble and turmoil on account of the affair of signing my name on the papers, in order to confirm my counsel there in Indiana, as a Council demanded. I consequently withdraw my name and it shall henceforth be as if it were not there, and I confess that we made a mistake in passing a verdict having known only one side; I confess with David that I am the man who has sinned, and I ask God and all offended persons for forgiveness. I know that I am very short in wisdom and in decisiveness; I want to become still less in my own eyes so that I might be wise in the Lord. I will leave your advice as it is and not condemn it. And as far as the other brethren are concerned who signed the same document, I will leave it up to them. We must answer for ourselves, including you—you will one day have to give account on how you keep house just as I will.

I have decided to disassociate myself because I believe there are many innocent lambs among those condemned, as you yourself have confessed, and J. Brenneman. Also in a letter you admitted that there are many innocent people on both

sides, and this I also admit. Therefore I am afraid before God to condemn the innocent lambs. David says, I will not deny my sin against the Lord's chosen, against the Savior, by condemning my opponent, in order to act with moderation in accord with the entire Holy Scripture and be subject one to the other, as you (also) say.

I would still have much to say to you in person. Perhaps you cannot understand this. I want to close my humble letter with a hearty greeting of love to you all. My innermost wish and plea to God is that the Holy God of peace Himself may desire to accept His scattered flock, and that He may give the shepherds such hearts that peace of soul might be found and all of us be of the same mind and opinion through Jesus Christ. Amen.

Signed by Georg Weber

(Translated by Elizabeth Bender)

A THANK YOU/A REMINDER

A number of readers have been sending in a wide range of items: documents, letters, articles, even whole collections of letters and diaries, etc. Some of these are worked into the *Bulletin*. All of the materials become part of the important holdings of the Archives of the Mennonite Church. May this inflow of ideas and items continue, and may even more readers respond, in this ongoing dialogue with history!

WISLER SCHISM

(Continued from Page 5)

of the gospel and the ordinances of our church and contrary to the teaching of Menno Simons, I am willing to listen to reason.

Now about lamps. In our homes we have kerosene lamps just like other people—and like those every farmer has in his home. I was in some homes — meetinghouses in Pennsylvania — that are much more adorned than ours. Our houses are on the whole just as plain as yours. If you doubt this, come here, we will show you.

I said that we visited Wisler four times to offer him reunion. But I did not say how much oftener, because I did not want to overshoot the mark, but that many I am sure of. You say further that Wisler has claimed that if we came back to the old foundation he would again unite with us. That is true—that is what he said; but in my published letter I have shown clearly where we stand when we go to him. So lightly we do not want to let ourselves be rejected from the church—from the old order—and from the council, even though many would take great pleasure in our doing so. Now I am speaking for myself: I have promised to be faithful to this church and this church council. I was baptized by your predecessor in the bishop's office, Jacob Kolb, and that I should so lightly break and destroy this baptismal bond — may God protect me from such a step. If now you want to know more, then come and visit us and see for yourself. I don't want to say anything more about the people, but what I am writing I can substantiate.

Now about the Ohio affair—what happened at Orrville. That took place through the council of the bishops and not through disobedience and stubbornness, untruth and deception. John Brubacher of Clearfield is still under the ban of the Lancaster Conference because he with treachery, deception and untruthfulness split the Orrville congregation, and there were a large number of members who were cast out without a shepherd and without a home because they could not say yes to such unrighteousness, and they did not want to leave the conferences either, like Horst and his followers, and for that reason they were taken in; furthermore, I have not been in Ohio for a considerable time; once I preached there at Orrville, and that was when John M. Holdeman was with us. It was not very pleasant for me, but at the same time I preached in the Medina church where it was also rather unpleasant for me on Christmas Day.

But as said, Brubacher caused the disturbance there, and in Columbiana County a small part of the congregation withdrew from the church and the Medina ministers went to them and took them in; this was an entirely different matter. The story that you write me I am acquainted with. I know too that you have talked much with Troxel Lehman (sic.)—and then you talked too little or not at all with Bixler. Your case is like Brother George Weaver's of Lancaster, and I cannot blame you very much. You are far away and are not familiar with our affairs. Troxel is an old respected man and can make a good impression; therefore one supposes that what he says must be true, for he says he speaks only what he knows, and yet if he had to prove everything he would have a hard time.

(The letter comes to an abrupt halt at this point, the page only partially filled. L.G. Translated by Elizabeth Bender.)

News and Notes

The *Canadian Mennonite Reporter*, an Anabaptist periodical of news and interpretation, began as a new venture on Tuesday, August 3, 1971 (Volume I, Number 1). Frank H. Epp serves as editor. Although the paper will underscore Canadian Mennonitism it also will publish interpretive in-depth articles in line with Anabaptist tradition as the title itself suggests.

Clarence Hiebert, Professor of Church History at Tabor College, Hillsboro, Kansas, will publish his five-year study of the Holdeman people. Hiebert's study has generated considerable interest among members of the Church of God in Christ, Mennonite (official name of the Holdeman group), as well as people in communities where the Holdeman people reside. The 640-page, typewritten manuscript is a historical study of their 110-year existence from a sociological slant.

"The Waldensian Seminary Library is the only library in Italy, and one of the very few in Europe, which has the *Mennonite Quarterly Review* complete in the original set. It is becoming more and more important as study of Anabaptism and of heterodox movements within the Reformation is being carried out."—from letter of J. A. Soggin 9/16/70, printed in: *News Letter: The American Waldensian Aid Society*, September 1971.

"The 'Big Valley' Amish of Central Pennsylvania: a Community of Cultural Contrasts" by Dr. Maurice A. Mook was published in *Lycoming*

College Magazine (Spring Semester 1971, pp. 1-5). Dr. Mook is professor of anthropology. The seven timely illustrations (photos, drawings and a map) add to the worth of the article.

Descendants of Peter Sprunger (1757-1840) will be interested to know that genealogy research is being conducted with a view to the eventual publication of a family record. Research is based on a Sprunger family book published in 1890. All descendants are urged to assist by sending for a form to be filled in with family information. Information is not only needed from Sprunger name relatives, but also from descendants through marriage, including Amstutz, Beer, Burri, Gerber, Gilliom, Habegger, Lehman, Lichty, Moser, Neuenschwander, Nussbaum, Reusser, Scheidegger, Schnegg, Stauffer, Stucky, and Zurcher (Zuercher). To obtain forms, contact Willis E. Herr, 1477 S. Barrington #16, Los Angeles, Ca. 90025. A self-addressed, stamped envelope would be appreciated.

KAGAWA

(Continued from Page 3)

for the spiritual, social and economic emancipation of Japan and began organizing accordingly on a more extensive scale. He realized Japan's moral degradation and consequently the social and economic poverty of the masses. We asked Kagawa what we as a people might do for Japan within and also outside the scope of mission boards. He replied that there was an eagerness on the part of the Japanese people to utilize the services of technicians, professionals and specialists along all lines who are thoroughly Christian and evangelical in their faith, who through their specialized service could keep as their ultimate objective a Christian witness to Japan which would bring Christ to the Japanese and make an impact upon the people to bring them to Christ. He emphasized that, whatever of specialized service for Japan might be given by foreign personnel, it must be Christian. He then bent over and almost whispered: "It must be Mennonite!" This was not a sectarian emphasis but emphasizing the principles for which we as an organized Christian body stand and have maintained and suffered for through the centuries. He also said, "We do not need western money or commodity except through normal trade relations, but we need the Christian influence which comes from the peace-loving Christian people of the Western Christian world who can come to us and work with us in building up a nation of peace and good will. He

assured us that such Christian workers would be economically secure in Japan. His testimony was that Japan as a nation must be willing rather to be sacrificed upon the altar of peace and good will than to become the unwilling victims of militarism and armed force.

Dr. Kagawa expressed his deep appreciation of his visit to Goshen and also to Kitchener and Akron. He said that he considered this visit to the United States of special importance because of his great discovery of the Peace Churches, especially of the Mennonites who for four hundred years have maintained the great principle of peace and non-resistance. He asks for our prayers and our sacrificial interest in the spiritual welfare of Japan. God bless Kagawa and his army of Christian associates in organizing his national evangelistic and other Christian social and economic welfare interests in his country. May we do our part in meeting the great challenge of Japan.

Book Reviews

(Continued from Page 8)

acterized the Mennonites wherever they have migrated and taken part in the naturalization procedure. Chapter 6 provides considerable data concerning the Mennonite nonresistance position both prior to and during the Revolutionary War. The comprehensiveness of this study also is illustrated by mention of the tragedies suffered at the hands of the Indians and the disturbances brought about among the Mennonites as a result of revivalism, including even the shouting! Wust also records in passing that "Samuel Strickler, a descendant of a Mennonite pioneer at Massanutten, sat in the House of Delegates from 1802 until 1810 and again in 1815-16," and that "Samuel Coffman, grandson of Mennonite preacher Michael Kauffman, was a delegate to the Constitutional Convention of 1829-30 . . ."

It is a minor point but somewhat curious to me that on page 160 Wust speaks of the Virginia Germans' good penmanship but then speaks of an appalling deterioration of spelling. Is not the fact rather that there was no standardization of spelling until many years later? He recognizes on page 190 that slight variations in the spelling of proper names can be accounted for by the fact that the spelling was not as firmly established as in more recent times. Would not this account just as well for spelling in general? On page 221 he makes the puzzling statement regarding Francis Miller that he was "a German despite his name" when in fact Miller is as common an anglicization of its German counterpart

as it is of the French and Dutch ones.

It proved impossible to learn more about the author than that he is editor of *The Report*, a publication of the Society for the History of the Germans in Maryland. One can hope that we may expect from his pen a history of the Germans in Maryland comparable in thoroughness and readability to this one for Virginia.

—Gerald C. Studer

Women of the Reformation (in Germany and Italy). Roland Bainton. Minneapolis, Minn.; Augsburg. 1971. 279 pp. \$7.95.

The appearance of another book by Roland Bainton is a welcome event indeed! He is now retired from his professorship of church history at Yale but the publication of this series of studies gives ample evidence that his customary skill for vivid narration and description is not diminished.

In this book 16 women usually lost behind familiar Reformation figures and events come to life. These women exemplified an ability for commitments, faithfulness and courage equal to that of any of the famous Reformation men. Sometimes even in opposition to their husbands these women fought for and protected alternative ways of expressing the faith.

These studies are confined to the women of two European countries—eight sketches of German women and six of Italian. The word Reformation is used in this work to include not only Protestantism but also evangelical Catholicism. Bainton tersely remarks in a stimulating introductory essay: "The women constituted a half of the population and had they boycotted the movement, one may be sure that would have been the end." He adds the opinion that "the reform . . . had greater influence on the family than on the political and economic spheres."

The book is packed with excellent photographs—54 in all—including reproductions of several title-pages. There are also two maps and one genealogical chart. The stories of four of the women are capsulated and narrated by Dr. Bainton on a 12-inch monaural recording available at \$4.95.

Katherine Zell's plea for clemency for the Anabaptists is found here with the familiar ring of the testimonies of the early adherents whose stories appear in *Martyrs Mirror*. "You behave as if you had been brought up by savages in a jungle. The Anabaptists are pursued as by a hunter with dogs chasing wild boars. Yet the Anabaptists accept Christ in all essentials as we do.

They have borne witness to their faith in misery, prison, fire, and water. . . ." Dr. Bainton's chapter on "The Anabaptist Women" is equal in power to any other in this work.

Excerpts from the writings of these women at times suggest the influence of Anabaptist ideas such as the response of Renee of Ferrara to John Calvin's fear that she had been beguiled by her affection for the Duke of Guise into protesting the Huguenot preacher's declaration that the Duke was in hell. She pleads moderation and humility in place of such diatribe and in doing so she reminds Calvin that there is a judge before whom we all shall stand and that furthermore "we must pray for the salvation of any one, but we are not to regard all as members of the church. . . . We are to render good for evil. Hate and Christianity are incompatible. . . . Those who pretend to seek reconciliation while stuffing cannons are without excuse. . . ." Several of these women are very pacifistic in their spirit and in their pleas.

One of Calvin's Geneva ministers, Morel, whom Calvin had sent to Ferrara to visit Renee, wrote to Calvin complaining that Renee desired to attend the synodical meetings: "If Paul thought that women should be silent in church, how much more should they not participate in the making of decisions!" The next sentence throws into some question Myron Augsburger's subthesis in *The Broken Chalice* that women were liberated more by the Anabaptist movement than by any of the other Reform movements. For Morel proceeded to write: "How will the Papists and the Anabaptists scoff to see us run by women!" It is admittedly a somewhat ambiguous statement and difficult to assess with certainty.

At a few places Bainton's fast-paced narrative leaves the reader somewhat in the dark, as when he alludes to the "seances of Valdes at Naples" without further explanation. Doubtlessly he often needed to resist making too many side-trips into fascinating areas which were unrelated to his chosen purpose in this book. Occasionally the story is difficult to follow for several pages due to the strangeness of the Medieval world but Bainton has rescued from obscurity a group of rare spirits. An outstanding feature is the excellent translations of verses, as for example, the sonnets of Vittoria Colonna. However, the book has several typographical errors, and the index, while generally very adequate, does omit one Anabaptist reference as well as any listing whatever for Universalism.

—Gerald C. Studer

Book Reviews

Evening Prayers. By Christoph Blumhardt. Rifton, N. Y. Plough Publishing House. 1971. 234 pp. \$2.95.

Confession of Faith. By Peter Rideman. Rifton, N. Y. Plough, 1970. 298 pp. \$5.00.

Torches Together (illustrated). By Emmy Arnold. Rifton, N. Y. Plough. 231 pp. \$4.95.

Evening Prayers is a book of brief prayers for every day of the year. It is a companion volume both in size and purpose to Plough's *Inner Words* published in 1963 which consists of brief and provocative seed-thoughts selected from such spiritual giants as the Blumhardts, Bonhoeffer, and others.

These prayers are extracted from the records of Blumhardt's evening devotions which he conducted at Bad Boll, Germany, between 1880 and 1919. There is a clarity of vision and an intensity of conviction that gives these prayers a distinctive luster. Many of the most influential theologians of modern times have been greatly influenced by the Blumhardts. Of the prayers of Christoph the younger, Karl Barth said: "our cause, our hope, is served better with prayers than with treatises. Our dialectics have come to a dead end, and if we want to become healthy and strong, we have to start from the beginning and become like children. That is where Blumhardt can be of great service to people everywhere."

In these days when the anchors of our lives seem to be loosening, the peace and assurance that is emitted from these prayers comes from Blumhardt's unshakable conviction that God's Kingdom is on the way in spite of stormy and changing times. Most of us need this kind of reassurance frequently, if not indeed daily. It is a bracing thing to read the prayers of one for whom some things are unshakable. It is to these that the reader is turned to get his bearings for the every-day.

Hear an excerpt: "Protect us in our exultation; let us be glad together so that we do not weigh upon one another but help one another, so that this earth too may yet be filled with jubilation in those whom Thou hast richly blessed. Forgive us all our sins, heal us of our frailties, and redeem us from the terrible ruin that tries to take hold of our souls. Amen."

The Rideman (sometimes spelled Riedemann) *Confession* is a primary source from sixteenth-century Anabaptism for all who are today reaching with desperation and a spirit of experimentation for a life-style pro-

viding both integrity and witness. We can ill afford to waste time and effort discovering again the radical Christianity we are called to when so much of what it means has already been refined and extracted for us. This new edition contains not only the complete text of this historic Christian document but includes also the massive number of Scripture references with which Rideman documented and buttressed his statement of Christian faith. Included also for the first time is Eberhard Arnold's historical essay on *The Hutterian Brethren*. This remains one of the more valuable brief descriptions of Hutterian history and life.

Torches Together, the story of the beginning and early years of the Bruderhof communities both in Europe and in the Americas, has been newly reprinted, copyrighted, and illustrated by Plough. The earlier edition published by Plough in 1964 was job-printed and included no illustrations. This new and second edition has a revised Postscript by Douglas A. Moody.

Plough continues to publish books of substance and quality from an unconventional but strongly Biblical viewpoint that enriches all other Christian traditions even where the communal life is not espoused. Their books combine an intensity of purpose and a depth of insight with a rare spirit of joy and unquenchable hope.

—Gerald C. Studer

The Virginia Germans. By Klaus Wust. Charlottesville, Va. The University Press of Virginia. 1969. 310 pp. \$8.50.

This first comprehensive study of German settlement and integration in Virginia from 1608 until World War I proves to be a significant and colorful chapter in the state's history. Wust has undoubtedly written the most thoroughly researched and highly readable study of the German background of any one of the fifty states. The author has collected and interpreted a great mass of information never before published and combined it with forgotten facts as well as familiar passages of history.

This reviewer's primary interest in the book was the Mennonite involvement in the history of Virginia. But this interest was accented also by the fact that some years before he had profited greatly from an article Wust had written and published in the *National Genealogical Society Quarterly*. The author's competence was impressive in that article and this book underscores that earlier impression.

In this book, the author studies those people whose mother tongue

was German and who settled in Virginia whether or not they came from Germany as we now know it. Information about the New World was scarce in Europe and those who came either directly or indirectly to Virginia did so in search of land and security. Most of these German settlers, whether Mennonite or not, settled in closely knit farm colonies in the Piedmont and Valley areas. There they developed an isolated life for themselves. As the state grew, the Germans underwent a continuous process of social and cultural assimilation which is not yet finished. Wust documents carefully their gradual entrance into public life, business, church and school. These Germans, as did other groups, also had their share of heroes, pacifists, patriots, Tories and deserters.

Wust has uncovered some fascinating information about "four sisters Lerber (sic) from Berne" who were Anabaptists and lived in a paltry abode near "Gloucester Church" at the close of the seventeenth century. This tantalizing reference to the earliest Anabaptists in Virginia was apparently unknown to Brunk when writing his *History of Mennonites in Virginia*, and precedes his starting date of 1727. Wust further states confidently that "religious causes for emigration have been vastly exaggerated by subsequent generations" even though he does allow that they were real causes.

The author is careful to give the reader a proper sense of proportion when he says, "Lutherans and Reformed represented the bulk of the Germans everywhere in Virginia but from the first days of settlement Mennonites had also come into the Valley." Later he adds the stronger statement that not only did the "seclusive Dunkers and Mennonites (form) an important body of new migration" but "their land-hunger might indeed have set off the renewed interest of Pennsylvania Germans in Virginia lands."

The author states also that "the old Mill Creek meetinghouse at Hamburg, claimed justly by both Mennonites and Baptists, is the only colonial German church west of the Blue Ridge still standing today." He also recognizes fully that "there was among the Germans a minority who did not strain scripture sources to condone slavery" and mentions specifically the Mennonites, Dunkers, and the United Brethren in this connection. He briefly describes the United Brethren as "a new denomination which had received part of its impetus from one of its Mennonite founders."

He also documents the resistance to swearing the oath that has char-

(Continued on Page 7)

MENNONITE HISTORICAL BULLETIN

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THE MENNONITE MEETING AT 6119 GERMANTOWN ROAD

"The early difficulties of the [Mennonite] community are drawn vividly by Jacob Godschalks: 'The beginning or the origin of the community of Jesus Christ here in Germantown, who are called Mennonites, took its rise in this way, that some friends out of Holland and other places in Germany, came here together, and although they did not all agree, since at this time the most were Quakers, nevertheless they found it good to have exercises together, but in doing it they were to be regarded as sheep who had no shepherd, and since as yet they had no preachers, they endeavored to instruct one another. In the year 1690, more friends from Crefeld and elsewhere came into the land, who were also of our brethren and added themselves and attended our exercises in the house of Isaac Jacobs. These last mentioned friends found it good, or judged it better for the building up of the community to choose by a unanimity of voters a preacher and some deacons. Thereupon was William Rittenhouse, born in Mongouerland, chosen preacher, and Jan Neues of Crefeld, as deacon, and the first named entered upon the performance of his duties on the 8th. of October, 1702.'

"There was no Bible at the meeting house, and only one in the whole membership in 1708. The 'community is still weak and it would cost money to get them [Bibles] printed, while the members who come here from Germany have spent everything and must begin anew, and all work for the conveniences of life of which they stand in need.' However, 'the Christian Confession of the Faith of the harmless Christians in the Netherlands known by the name of Mennonites' was printed in Amsterdam, 1712, in English, at the 'desire of some of our Fellow believers in Pennsylvania' and was printed in Philadelphia by Andrew Bradford in 1727.

"These Mennonites were among the men and women who had responded to Penn's idea of a 'Holy Experiment'."

—Lithograph and text from Grant Miles Simon,
The Beginnings of Philadelphia (Phila., 1957),
with permission of Mrs. Simon and the publishers.

The Beginnings of Germantown

FRANZ DANIEL PASTORIUS

Address to posterity and all who shall continue or keep up this Land Record.

DEAR AND BELOVED SUCCESSORS. In order that you may know at all times by whom, when, how, and why the so-called Germantownship was begun and that the origin, noteworthy hardships and well-meaning purpose of your forefathers may be briefly disclosed to you, I have considered it my duty to add a little about it here by way of preface. In the beginning, then, after Charles, King of England, the second of this name, by the special Providence of the Most High and for weighty considerations had granted and ceded to William Penn and his heirs the Province of Pennsylvania in a public charter dated March 4th, 1680, a number of persons in High and Low Germany (whose names may be seen in the general patent or grant of this Germantownship p. 1) among others were led to purchase of the said William Penn through Benjamin Furly his plenipotentiary at Rotterdam in Holland 43000 acres of land in all in the above mentioned Province of Pennsylvania, with the confident expectation that by fleeing hither from Europe, as it were into a second Pellam, we might escape the disturbances and oppressions of that time, and, likewise transport other honest and industrious people in order that we might lead a quiet, peaceful, Godly life under the rule of the oft-mentioned William Penn, which it is hoped, will be just and benign. On the second day of the second month (April) 1683, I, Francis Daniel Pastorius (a forerunner presumably of many honest countrymen who are to follow), began the journey and arrived the 20th of the sixth month (August) with a number of hired men and maids, God be praised, safe and sound, in Philadelphia. Soon afterwards, viz., on the 6th of the eighth month (October) arrived likewise in Philadelphia Dirck and Herman and Abraham Isaacs op den Graeff, Lenert Arets, Tunes Kunders, Reinert Tisen, Wilhelm Strepers, Jan Lensen, Peter Keurlis, Jan Simens, Johaness Bleickers, Abraham Tunes, and Jan Lucken, with their respective wives, children and servants, together thirteen

families, when we without delay requested of William Penn that he should have laid out and surveyed in one tract on a navigable stream all the land bought by the above mentioned High and Low Germans.

Inasmuch as he could not accede to our wishes in this matter, but offered a township some miles above the Falls of the Schuylkill not far from the city of Philadelphia, awaiting the arrival of a number of families, we examined the land, and, as it was not suitable for us because of its high hills, we requested William Penn that he grant us the township on more level ground in the wooded region, to which he agreed and afterwards on the 24th of October had fourteen lots or hereditary shares, surveyed by Thomas Fairman, for which the above mentioned thirteen families drew lots on the 25th of the same month, and began forthwith to construct cellars and houses, in which they spent the winter, not without great hardships.

We called the place Germantown, which signifies likewise the city of Germans and the city of Brothers; some gave it the name Armentown (Poortown) because many of the aforesaid settlers could not procure themselves provisions for even a few weeks much less months. And it cannot be adequately described nor believed by the more prosperous descendants, in what want and poverty, but at the same time with what Christian contentment and unwearied industry this Germantown was begun.

Therefore, the frequent earnest encouragement and actual assistance of William Penn, who has often been mentioned are not to be forgotten; also the fact that when he had sailed to England, and the courage of some of the inhabitants had failed at the thought of the previous year, so that they wished to take up their abode elsewhere, which however was prevented by his continued encouragement; and you now have reason on both accounts to gratefully praise the fatherly goodness and care of God.

Anno 1684, the 20th and following days of the 12th month (February) the tract of the German township, viz., 6000 acres according to the purport of the warrant issued by William Penn and delivered to the Surveyor General's office, was surveyed; but shortly afterwards by his order 1000 acres of it along the Schuylkill were again cut off (re-

gardless of what we could say against it). Thus it remained until this our German township was again surveyed a second time by Thomas Fairman on the 29th of December, and this time with scrupulous accuracy and found to contain 5700 acres of land for which we have taken out the patent or land charter copied on the next page.

Moreover, at the same time the whole and half lots were surveyed in proper order to the inhabitants of Germantown, all and singly, as may be seen more clearly from the draft or chart and this book, namely, 2750 acres. On the 4th of the second month (April) 1689, the purchasers and hereditary tenants to whom the remaining 2950 acres of the German township belong, distributed this land among themselves, by lot, into three separate villages, and, on the 14th of the 11th month (January) 1690, had it laid off by Thomas Fairman and called the nearest portion, adjoining Germantown, Krissheim, the middle portion Sommerhausen, after my native city, and the farthest portion Crefeld, as is shown more in detail on page 2. In this connection it is to be incidentally remembered that we, the beginners in this work, because of the lack of sufficient experience in such things, have done many things which we afterwards must ourselves change or recommend to our wiser successors for improvement. For because of the difficult clearing of the woodland, etc., we laid out in the beginning only seven-rod tracts or lots, and afterwards when we were able to get along better with such difficult labor, we added to these lots seven rods and four feet. Then, too, our first intention was to stop with 25 lots; accordingly, we then reserved an acre for a market place, a grave yard, and also for public buildings on the west side in front of the sixth lot by a cross street in the middle of the town; but inasmuch as a number of former servants and others arriving from Germany wished to remain and live with us in Germantown, we increased the number of lots to 55. In like manner, it was our intention that the long street was to run in a straight northwest line through the entire village of Germantown, and the cross streets directly opposite each other and of the one width, which, however, the intervening swamps and inconveniences, but

chiefly the growing diversity of opinion among the people, prevented.

In conclusion, I may properly add with an appended N.B., for the information of those that are to follow, that Germantown's most prominent external prosperity, so far as it is befitting to speak of such at this early stage is due to flax raising, spinning, and weaving, and doubtless by means of this little plant, also in the future the poverty and want of many can yet be remedied, and for this reason it should be sown and cared for with becoming industry. Closing with this, I wish sincerely that the dissension and strife which, alas are all too rife, may be entirely erased from the hearts and minds of the people of Germantown, and that they all, old and young, great and small, may live piously and honestly in true love to God and their neighbors, suffer in patience, die happy, and thus enter into eternal peace and glory. Amen.

Franz Daniel Pastorius.

Translated from the Grund—und Lager Buch, by Marion Dexter Learned. The English title is "Ground and Lot Book of All and each real Properties of cleared and uncleared land in the entire Germantownship. — Order of a General Court at that place begun by Francis Daniel Pastorius." The copy is in the archives of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, 1300 Locust Street, Philadelphia, 19107. By permission. M. G.

The Anti-Slavery Protest

THOMAS E. DRAKE*

One little group of Pennsylvanians alone had difficulty reconciling slavery with their religious principles—but they were not Englishmen. The Rhineland artisans—Germans, Swiss, and Dutch—who founded Germantown in 1684, early developed qualms of conscience about slaveholding. They had no use for slaves in their skilled crafts — linen weaving, for example, — and they hated the sight of slavery in a land where they had come to find freedom. In 1688 the little Quaker gathering at the house of Tones Kunders drew up a formal remonstrance against slavery and the slave trade and submitted it to the monthly meeting of Friends in nearby Dublin: "These are the reasons," the Germantown Friends said, "why we are against the traffic of men-body as followeth: Is there any [among us] that would be done or

Germantown and the Philadelphia Bicentennial of 1976

Philadelphians already are talking about their approaching 1976 Bicentennial. Last Christmas my Market Street taxi driver enthusiastically recounted the recent City actions, and seemed eager to pass on the latest developments to an "out-of-stater." Planning for this great celebration is well underway, even though the event itself lies some four years in the future.

Mennonites too have long been planning for this Philadelphia event. The Germantown Mennonite Church, keenly aware of its unique historical placement, authorized the establishing of an information center near the Mennonite Meetinghouse.

Dr. Melvin Gingerich, past editor of the BULLETIN, was asked to set the Center-idea into motion; and, with Mrs. Gingerich, graciously consented to move to Germantown for some ten months. Important contacts were made, archival materials located, and pamphlets written. The information center rapidly took on form, and by spring 1972 it was already a reality with solid substance. The Gingerichs fulfilled their given tasks so well, that during this time, the Center became listed in local and state-wide tourist information pamphlets. A further result of Gingerich's firm initiative was unexpected: The Mennonites were officially asked to participate in aspects of the planning of the Philadelphia Bicentennial itself.

Most of the materials for the current BULLETIN were gathered by Gingerich, who merits a word of deep appreciation for the well-balanced results of his research effort. L. G.

handled at this manner? viz., to be sold or made a slave for all the time of his life?" They remembered, they said, the fear which had gripped them on their voyage across the sea when they thought they might be captured by Turkish pirates and sold into slavery. Was it not worse, they asked, for Christians to act like the Turks, and steal Negroes from their native Africa to keep them in life-long bondage? Was this an application of the golden rule?

The Germantown Quakers could see no more reason for enslaving black men than white. They had come to Pennsylvania themselves to find liberty of conscience: "liberty of the body" should also prevail. Christians, instead of compounding the crime of manstealing by separating slave husbands from their wives and forcing them into adultery, ought to deliver the Negroes "out of the hands of the robbers." At the least they should refuse to purchase slaves.

In more practical vein, the Germantown settlers warned their fellow Pennsylvanians that the news that "Quakers do here handle men" as people in Europe "handle there the cattle," would make an extremely ill report among prospective immigrants in Holland and Germany. Furthermore they feared a slave revolt — thinking perhaps of what had happened in Barbados — and asked the other Quakers what they as professors of peace would do if the slaves should

joint [sic] themselves, fight for freedom, and handle their masters and mistresses as they did handle them [the Negroes] before. Will these masters and mis-

tresses take the sword at hand and war against these poor slaves, like, we are able to believe, some will not refuse to do? Or have these Negroes not as much right to fight for their freedom as you have to keep them slaves?—Now consider well this thing [they adjured Friends], if it is good or bad [to] handle these blacks in that manner? We desire and require you hereby lovingly [in order that we might be] satisfied in this point, . . . [and that we might] satisfy likewise our good friends and acquaintances in our native country, to whom it is a terror or fearful thing that men should be handled so in Pennsylvania.

The pointed inquiry of the Germantown people compelled Pennsylvania Friends to face the slavery problem. But the Monthly Meeting "at Richard Worrel's," after some consideration, said lamely, "[we find the matter] so weighty that we think it not expedient for us to meddle with it here, . . . the tenor of it being nearly related to the Truth." They therefore referred the query to the Quarterly Meeting in Philadelphia, which likewise found it "a thing of too great a weight" to determine. The Quarterly Meeting merely charged the three Germantown Friends who had brought the protest with the duty of presenting it to the Yearly Meeting for Pennsylvania, Delaware, and New Jersey, soon to be held in Burlington. What consideration the Yearly Meeting of 1688 gave the matter, the minutes do not show. They simply record the presentation of a "paper . . . by some German Friends concerning the lawfulness and unlawfulness of buying

*From Thomas E. Drake, *Quakers and Slavery in America* (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1950), 11-14.

and keeping Negroes"; concluding, "It was adjudged not to be so proper for this meeting to give a positive judgment in the case, it having so general a relation to many other parts; and therefore at present they forbear it."

Thus the leaders of the Yearly Meeting, required to consider the righteousness and expediency of slaveholding, could not bring themselves to condemn it. Too many of their members owned slaves. Too many Friends in "other parts" (i.e., other colonies) lived off the labor of slaves. Finding no unanimity among themselves, they justified their silence on the ground that they did not wish to reflect discredit on the actions of Friends elsewhere. The Germantown paper went into the archives; the Germantown Friends lapsed into silence. More than 150 years later, in 1844, the document, long believed lost, again came to light. Many groups then sought credit for its authorship: Quakers, Mennonites, Germans, and Dutchmen. Everyone hailed it, and erroneously, as the first written protest against Negro slavery in the English colonies. Quaker the protest was, courageous and plain spoken. It cannot, however, be regarded as either the first or the most potent Quaker remonstrance against slavery. George Fox's remarks, of 1657 and 1671-72, both antedated and surpassed in ultimate effect the unavailing effort of the little group in Germantown; William Edmundson's letter of 1676 circulated more widely. Nevertheless, among all the colonists in America, these Dutch and German Friends deserve full credit as pioneers of the Spirit. They were the first Americans to see slavery as it really was.¹

¹ Controversy still rages over the religious affiliations and national origins of the founders of Germantown. Rayner W. Kelsey demonstrated conclusively in the *Bulletin of Friends Historical Association*, XXI (1932), 28-30, that the group which drew up the antislavery protest of 1688 was a Friends' meeting. It is also true, however, that the signers of the protest came from Pietist-Mennonite-Quaker communities in Europe, and that some of them later allied themselves with the Mennonite church in Germantown. As for their national origins, the late Professor Hull, of Swarthmore College, disclosed that, except for a few individuals such as Pastorius, the founders of Germantown sprang from Dutch Quaker stock; that although they emigrated to Pennsylvania principally from Krefeld, Frankfurt, and Kriegsheim bei Worms, they had been out of Holland proper less than a generation. William I. Hull, *William Penn and the Dutch Quaker Migration to Pennsylvania* (Swarthmore, Penn., 1935). Germanophiles deny the validity of Dr. Hull's conclusions.

Germantown Mennonites: Membership List of 1708

Pastor Godschalk
Bishop Willem Rittenhouse
Herman Carsdorp
Martin Kolb
Isaac van Sinteren
Conrad Johnson (Jansen)
Henry Kassel (relative of
Kriegsheim Cassels & wives)
Herman Teyner
John Krey
Peter Connerts (Konders)
Paul Klumpkes
Arnold von Vossen
John Kolb
Jacob Kolb
Wynant Bowman
John Gorges
Cornelius Claessen
Arnold Kuster
Mary Tuynen
Helena Krey
Gertrude Conners
Mary von Vossen
Barbara Kolb
Ann Bowman
Margaret Huberts
Mary Sellen
Elizabeth Kuster
Margaret Tuysen (Tison)
Altien Revenstock
John Nice (Jan Neus)
Hans Nice
John Lensen (Jan)
Isaac Jacobs (van Bebbler)
Jacob Isaacs
Hendreck Sellen
John Connerts
Peter Keyser
Herman Kuster
Christopher Zimmerman
Sara van Sintern
Civilia Connerts
Altien Tysen
Catherine Casselberry (Cassel-
berg)
Civilia von Vossen

The above list is from Alfred Polzin, *A History of the Germantown Mennonite Church, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania* (unpub. masters thesis, Eastern Baptist Theological Seminary, 1971), 92. Polzin's source is Morgan Edwards, *Material for a History of the American Baptists, Pennsylvania, 1770*. W. I. Hull lists at least seven additional Mennonites for 1708 not included above. M. G.

Early Burials in the Germantown Churchyard

Date of Burial

1714 Dirck Keyser
1727 Lydia, wife of Levi Sperry
1732 Daniel Funk
1739 Barbara Jacobs
1752 Michael Brich

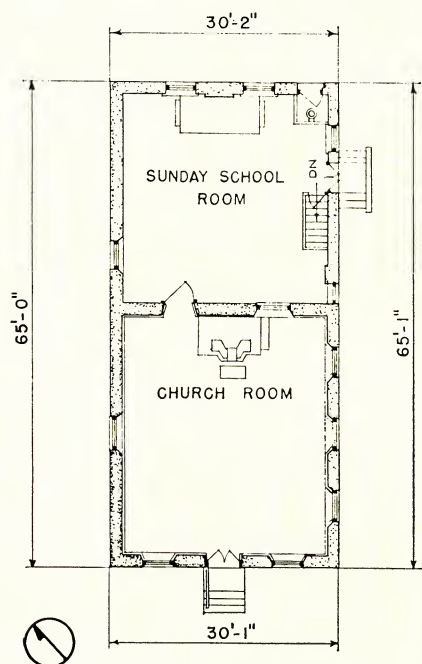
1754 Cornelius Nice
1756 Derick Keyser (son of
Dirck Keyser)
1758 Jacob Ruff
1758 Jacob Schriver
1758 John Conrad, Minister
1769 Heinrich Rittenhouse
1802 Isaac Kulp
1808 Benjamin Keyser
1810 Susanna Harmer, daughter of John Funk
1810 Charles Himmelwright
1812 Catherine Funk, nee
Knor, wife of John
Knor
1813 John Keyser
1814 Hannah Funk, daughter
of John and Catharine
Funk
1815 Anna Funk, wife of
John Funk
1816 Jacob Funk, Minister
1820 Catherine Funk, wife of
John Funk
1820 Mary Shaffer, daughter of
John and Sarah Shaffer
1821 Esther Gilbert, daughter
of Jacob Funk
1821 Jacob Markle
1821 Elizabeth Nice, widow
of William Nice
1821 Charles Nice
1822 Jonathan Gilbert
1822 Anna Keyser, wife of
Benjamin Keyser
1823 John Gorgas
1823 Margaret Gorgas
1825 Jacob Kulp
1826 Catherine Nice
1826 Peter Rittenhouse
1826 Justus Lamon, son of
Francis and Margaret
Lamon
1826 Susanna Keyser
1826 Anna Fisher, wife of
Michael Fisher
1830 Joseph Markle
1830 Catherine Markle
1830 Susanna Rittenhouse, wife
of Peter Rittenhouse
1831 Michael Fisher
1831 Mary Funk

—From the William H. Shelly
Collection
Information Center
Germantown Mennonite
Church

It is assumed that William Rittenhouse, who died in 1708, was buried in the Germantown Mennonite Church cemetery, as he was the minister of the church at the time of his death. The exact location of his grave in the cemetery is unknown. M. G.

The Mennonite Meeting House

6119 Germantown Avenue



The Mennonite Meeting House is a stone building constructed in 1770 and still in active use. It replaced an earlier log house erected about 1708. The Germantown congregation was the first Mennonite congregation to be established in America. William Rittenhouse was the first pastor, and Christopher Dock one of the most famous masters of the school the Mennonites maintained in connection with their church.

The original meeting house is 30 feet 1 inch wide and 35 feet 6 inches long. There is no cellar, but a ventilated air space was provided under the floor. A simple gabled roof is covered with shingles, and supported by two trusses of wood. The bottom chord is an 8 by 8-inch timber bolted with metal to the king posts. The outside eaves cornice is built up of wood, 15 inches high and projecting 18 inches, with bed moulds and a crown member. The raking cornice on the gables is similar but without a bed mould.

The entrance doorway is in the center of the gable end facing the street. Five cement steps lead to it. The two-fold door is 3 feet 10 inches wide and 8 feet 5 inches high, with a plain casing and a pediment over it. All of the members are held with wooden pegs. Each door has two raised panels on the outside. The inside is built of flush vertical planks. The doors are equipped with the original wrought-iron hardware, strap hinges, top and bottom bolts, and a box lock.

The interior has plastered walls and a plaster ceiling fastened to the bottom chords of the trusses. The meeting room is wainscoted with vertical flush boards to about the sill of the windows. The ceiling height is 11 feet 8 inches.

The church room is lighted with six double-hung windows, one on either side of the entrance and three in one of the side walls and one in the other. The sash are all similar. Each one is 3 feet 3 inches wide and 5 feet 9 inches high, with 24 lights arranged 12 over 12. They are 1 inch thick; the muntins are 1½ inches to the glass. The windows have wooden exterior sills and wooden shutters, flush on both sides, all supplied with wrought-iron strap hinges, bolts, pins, and catches. The insides of the windows have moulded wood trim, splayed wood jambs, and aprons finishing over the wainscot.

The room has a center aisle leading to the speaker's platform. On either side of the aisle are eight benches about 2 feet 4 inches back to back. They are made of wood, without cushions or arm rests. They have, however, a horizontal plank at shoulder height and a book shelf. There is room for about eighty people. The communion table, 2 feet 2½ inches wide and 2 feet 10 inches long, is made of wood with a moulded top, turned splayed legs, and moulded stretchers near the floor. It is said that the first protest against slavery was signed on this table in 1688.

To the south and east of the meeting house is the graveyard.

From Historic Germantown, by Harry M. and Margaret B. Tinkcom, and Grant Miles Simon. Published by The American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia, 1955. Printed here with the permission of Margaret B. Tinkcom. M. G.

Deed to First Mennonite Church at Germantown

TO ALL PEOPLE to whom these presents shall come I Henry Sellen of Kriesheim in the Germantownship in the County of Philadelphia & province of Pensilvania Yeoman send greeting. WHEREAS Arnold van Vossen of Bebbers-township in the sd County Husbandman & Mary his wife by their Indenture duly executed bearing date of the Sixth day of September Anno Domini 1714, for the consideration therein mentioned did Grant and Convey unto me the sd Henry Sellen, & to John Neus late of Germantown deceased, a certain piece of Land situate lying & being in Germantown in the sd

County, Containing thirty-five perches of land, to hold the sd piece of land, with the appurtenances, unto us the sd Henry Sellen & John Neus, and to the survivor of us & to the heirs and assigns of the survivor of us forever, as by the sd Indenture may at Large appear, Which sd land & premises were so as aforesd convey'd unto us by the direction & appointment of the Inhabitants in & about Germantown aforesd belonging to the Meeting of the people called Mennonist (:alias Menisten:) AND the above recited Indenture was so made or Intended to us in trust to the Intent only that we or either of us as should be & continue in unity & religious fellowship with the sd people & remain members of the meeting of the sd Mennonists (:Whereunto we did & I now belong:) should stand & be seized of the sd land & premises in and by the sd Indenture granted. To the uses & Intents herein after mentioned & declared & under the conditions provisos & restrictions herein after limited & expressed & to no other use Intent or purpose whatsoever, that is to say, FOR a place to erect a meeting house for the use and service of the sd Mennonists (:alias Menisten:) and for a place to bury their dead, PROVIDED always that neither I nor my heirs nor any other person or persons succeeding me in this trust, who shall be declared by the members of the sd Meeting for the time being to be out of unity with them shall be capable to execute this trust or stand seized to the uses aforesd, nor have any right or Interest in the sd premises while I or they shall so remain. BUT that in all such cases as also when I or any succeeding me in the trust aforesd shall happen to depart this life, then it shall & may be lawfull to & for the sd Members of the sd Meeting as often as Occasion shall require to make choice of others to manage & execute the sd trust in stead of such as shall so fall away or be deceased. AND UPON this further trust & confidence that we & the survivor of us and the heirs of such survivors should upon the request of the members of the meeting of the sd Mennonists either assign over the sd trust or convey and settle the sd piece of land and premises to such person or persons as the members of the sd meeting shall order or appoint, to and for the uses Intent and services herein before mentioned.

Now KNOW YE, that I the sd Henry Sellen do hereby acknowledge, that I and the sd John Neus deceased were nominated in the sd recited Indenture by and on the behalf of

(Continued on Page 7)

Who Was David Rittenhouse?

MAURICE J. BABB*

David Rittenhouse, the Pioneer American astronomer, whose bicentenary will be celebrated in April, 1932, was born in the "New House" with the "coffin door" at the upper end of Lincoln Drive, Philadelphia, April 8, 1732; the same year as Washington and also Lalande and Maskelyne, the French and English Astronomers Royal. Rittenhouse was of Dutch and Welsh ancestry. His greatgrandfather was William Rittenhouse, the first Mennonite Bishop and the first paper maker in America.

After the first two years, his boyhood and early manhood were spent at Norriton, near Norristown, where, at the age of twelve, a bequest of tools and mathematical books and manuscripts from his Uncle David constrained him to mechanics and mathematics. By 1749 he had established himself as a clock maker. Of his later work the splendid George W. Childs clock at the Drexel Institute is the most magnificent. Two years later his future brother-in-law, Thomas Barton, a graduate of Trinity College, Dublin, supplied him with more advanced books and the two started a circulating library. Barton was able later, as tutor at the University of Pennsylvania, and on visits to England, to furnish further contacts. In 1763 Rittenhouse surveyed the boundary of Delaware and Pennsylvania with instruments of his own making. This provided the cornerstone for Mason and Dixon who, in 1766, ran their line for 160 miles. Rittenhouse extended this line in 1779 and at earlier and later dates he laid the entire boundary of Pennsylvania.

The first description of the famous Rittenhouse Orrery was given to Barton in 1767 when he described his apparatus for determining the time, duration, and path of eclipses, extending over a period of 5,000 years before and after 1769. Even the great Zeiss Planetarium does not attempt this. The center space of the Orrery was an accurate instrument designed to produce the observable position of the then known planets and their satellites, while another compartment contained Jupiter and Saturn on a larger scale. There were two of these Orreries made. The one at Princeton has

disappeared, while the one made for the University of Pennsylvania is a treasured relic. . . .

On June 3, 1769, with especially designed instruments that he made himself, and assisted by William Smith, first Provost of the University of Pennsylvania, and John Lukens, Surveyor General of Pennsylvania, he observed the transit of Venus; thus correcting her parallax from 10 seconds to 8.6 seconds, and putting the Earth some 20 per cent farther from the Sun than had previously been supposed. Of another phase of his astronomical work, Professor S. A. Mitchell, in his "Eclipses of the Sun," says "The first eclipse of the Sun to be carefully observed in the British Colonies of North America was that of June 24, 1778, which was watched by David Rittenhouse."

In 1770 Rittenhouse moved to Philadelphia, at the southeast corner of Seventh and Arch Streets. On the northwest corner, diagonally opposite, he soon built an octagonal brick observatory. This, the first and for many years the only observatory in the United States, was partly financed by a grant from the Assembly. On this same site he built in 1786 the house later known as Fort Rittenhouse, where he lived with his two daughters, Esther, widow of Dr. Nicholas Baker Waters, and Elizabeth, widow of Jonathan Dickinson Sargent, Esq., and the latter's children.

Rittenhouse was elected Secretary of the American Philosophical Society in 1771, Vice-President in 1790 and President, succeeding Franklin, in 1791. In 1796 he was succeeded by Thomas Jefferson. He was made a Fellow of the Boston Society of Arts and Science in 1782 and a Foreign Member of the Royal Society of London in 1795. He received the degrees of M.A. from Pennsylvania, 1767; Princeton, 1782; William and Mary, 1784; and Doctor of Laws, Princeton, 1789. From 1779 to 1782 he was Professor of Astronomy and Vice Provost of the University of Pennsylvania, at a salary of 400 pounds, and trustee thereafter. Besides constructing his ingenious clock and the renowned Orreries, Rittenhouse first used spiders' thread for cross-hairs in his telescope and he invented the collimating telescope in 1785. Many of his papers will be found in the first volumes of the American Philosophical Society Proceedings. In the Society's historic building adjoining Independence Hall, Philadelphia, some of his astronomical instruments are still displayed. It is interesting to note that, though engaged in public work,

he published seventeen papers from 1780 to 1796, on optics, magnetism, electricity, meteors, logarithms, and astronomical observations, besides translating Lessing's "Lucy Sampson, or The Unhappy Heiress," from the German and the "Idylls of Gesner" from the French.

After 1763, besides his ordinary vocation, he was on various commissions on waterways and turnpikes. In 1775 he was ordered to prepare molds for iron clock-weights to replace lead ones, to survey the Delaware for fortification, and to test and rifle cannon. As Vice-President of the Committee of Safety he issued its proclamations. He succeeded, in 1776, to Franklin's seat in the State Assembly, was a member of the First Constitutional Convention of Pennsylvania, a member of the Board of War and of the Council of Safety, State Treasurer, 1777-1789, and First Director of the U. S. Mint 1792-1795.

He died June 26, 1796 and was first buried under his observatory at 7th and Arch Streets. Six months later he was eulogized at the First Presbyterian Church by Benjamin Rush before the President and both Houses of Congress, both Houses of Legislature, the diplomatic corps and the various honorable bodies of his own city. Later his body was removed to old Pine Street. In 1878 it was borne to North Laurel Hill Cemetery. From this beautiful spot one can look over the Schuylkill to the forgotten and desecrated ruins of Provost Smith's Mansion at the Falls of Schuylkill, and meditate on the evanescence of fame.

GERMANTOWN CHURCH CITED

Department of the Interior
Washington, D. C.

This is to certify that the historic building known as Germantown Mennonite Church, in the County of Philadelphia and the State of Pennsylvania, has been selected by the Advisory Committee of the HISTORIC AMERICAN BUILDINGS SURVEY as possessing exceptional historic or architectural interest and as being worthy of most careful preservation for the benefit of future generations and that to this end a record of its present appearance and condition has been made and deposited for permanent reference in the Library of Congress.

Harold L. Ickes
Secretary of the Interior

Attest
E. Perol Bissell
District Officer

*Dr. Maurice J. Babb was Professor of Mathematics, University of Pennsylvania, when he wrote this article for the Rittenhouse Astronomical Society, which published it as their Leaflet # 1. M. G.

Unfinished Task at Germantown

MELVIN GINGERICH*

On October 6, 1683, the ship "Concord" reached Philadelphia. Among the passengers were several who became members of the first permanent Mennonite congregation to be organized in America. . . .

. . . The deep convictions our Pennsylvania forefathers had on the sacredness of the human personality and the sanctity of human life could have led them to no other conclusion but that slavery was terribly wrong, a sin in the sight of God. They believed in a God, who like Jesus Christ, was deeply concerned about the human condition and who intervened in the affairs of men to lift high the humble and to bring the arrogant to rout. (Luke 1:51-52). History to them was the story of God's mighty acts among men, including the transplantation of their families to the free land of Pennsylvania. It is a story that we must never forget and which we must transmit to our children and our children's children.

*Excerpt from an address delivered on October 10, 1971 at the Germantown Mennonite Church's annual commemoration of the coming of the Mennonites to America.

Book Reviews

Historic Germantown, From the Founding to the Early Part of the Nineteenth Century. A Survey of the German Township. By Harry M. and Margaret B. Tinkcom and Grant Miles Simon. Independence Square, Philadelphia: The American Philosophical Society, 1955. Pp. 154. \$5.00.

Germantown Avenue of Philadelphia is the first street in the United States to be named a National Historic Landmark by the National Park Service. The publisher states: "The number of old buildings gracing the Avenue is surprisingly large, and they give a rare distinction and charm to the whole area. Here the eighteenth and twentieth centuries dwell side by side."

In 1951 the Germantown Historical Society initiated a survey of Germantown's history and architecture as part of the program to save the interesting old buildings in the area. Out of this research has grown this book.

The volume is divided into two parts. Part I on the history was written by Mr. and Mrs. Harry Tinkcom, both of whom are professionally trained historians. It covers Germantown's history during the years before it was absorbed into Philadelphia. Part II consists of surveys of eighty-five buildings of Germantown. For each building there is a brief historical and architectural description, accompanied by an architectural floor plan and one or more pictures. A bibliography and an index are included. Inside the 9½ by 12 inch front hard cover is a two page detailed map of the upper portion of Germantown Avenue, with the location of eighty-nine historic sites along the Avenue and the side streets. Inside the back

cover is the lower half of Germantown Avenue, within Germantown, showing 149 historic site locations. Germantown village extended from Wister Street to Washington Lane; but the map goes slightly beyond these limits. Site No. 111 on the map is the location of the Germantown Mennonite Church, where the original building was located in 1708 and where the present meetinghouse, constructed in 1770, now stands as one of the significant historical buildings of the avenue. The book is a high quality production not only from the angle of its scholarship but also because of its craftsmanship. It should be in all Mennonite school libraries.

—Melvin Gingerich

Biblical References in Anabaptist Writings. Compiled by Eldon T. Yoder and Monroe D. Hochstetler. Aylmer, Ontario and LaGrange, Indiana. Pathway Publishers. 430 pp. \$2.50.

Anabaptist scholars researching Dutch Mennonitism should know about this concordance, which is a complete compilation of all Bible verses found in the *Martyrs Mirror*, Menno Simons' *Complete Works*, and Dietrich Phillip's *Hand Book (Enchiridion)*. The pagination for both the English and German versions of Menno Simons and Dietrich Phillip are given, whereas only the English pagination is given for *Martyrs Mirror*.

In connection with such a work as this, it should be pointed out that the great Anabaptist work of Peter Rideman: *Account of Our Faith* (Plough Publishing House), also includes some 2,000 biblical references. Rideman's references have been indexed also in a recent volume by Robert Charles Holland, *The Hermeneutics of Peter Rideman* (Basel, 1970), pages 158-180. (L. G.)

Enchiridion or Hand Book of the Christian Doctrine or Religion. Dietrich Philip. 1966. 539 pp. \$2.50.

Menno Simon's *Die vollständigen Werke. Zweiter Pfad-Weg Ausgabe* 1971. 398; 655 pp. \$5.00. Aylmer, Ontario & LaGrange, Ind. Pathway Publishers.

In 1957, when George Huntston Williams was compiling and editing the materials for Vol. XXV of The Library of Christian Classics entitled *Spiritual and Anabaptist Writers*, he borrowed this reviewer's 1910 Mennonite Publishing Co. (Elkhart, Ind.) copy of the *Enchiridion* to work from in making his selection. Of course, he could have borrowed a copy from any of several Mennonite Libraries but the point is that the *Enchiridion* was long out-of-print. Pathway Publishers re-issued it again first in 1966 and in English for the benefit of their primarily Amish constituency along with a second reprinting of the J. A. Raber, Baltic, Ohio, 1926 edition of the works of Menno Simons. This company produces well-printed books in sturdy bindings at reasonable prices. They are to be commended for keeping such Anabaptist classics as these available. Stateside orders for any of their publications should be sent to the LaGrange, Indiana address.

—Gerald C. Studer

GERMANTOWN DEED

(Continued from Page 5)

the sd people called Mennonists: (:alias Menisten:) and that we were, and by survivorship I now am therein trusted only by and for the members of the sd meeting of Mennonists. And that I do not claim to have any right or Interest in the sd land & premises or any part thereof to my own use & benefit by the sd Indenture & Conveyance so made to us as aforesaid or otherwise howsoever, BUT only to and for the use Intent & service herein before mentioned under the Limitation and restriction above expressed and reserved, And to no other use Intent or service whatsoever. In witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand & seal, dated the Eight day of December in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred & twenty four.

HENDRICK SELLEN L.S.

Signed sealed and delivered
in the presence of
Martin Kolb
Dirck Keyser

From the William Henry Shelly Collection, Mennonite Information Center, 6117 Germantown Avenue, Philadelphia, Pa. M. G.

SIGNIFICANT DATES IN GERMANTOWN MENNONITE CHURCH HISTORY

The Mennonite Church traces its origins to the Swiss Brethren who began in Zurich, Switzerland, in 1525 as a third wing movement of the Protestant Reformation. Advocating separation of church and state, freedom of conscience, a believer's church comprised of only those who freely subscribed to its tenets, and refusing to participate in violence and warfare, they were severely persecuted, thousands of their numbers dying a martyr's death. In their search for freedom, many found their way to America. They arrived in Germantown, Pennsylvania, in 1683 and here they established their first permanent settlement in America.

1. On October 6, 1683, thirteen Dutch speaking families from Crefeld, Germany, reached Philadelphia. Most of them were Quakers who had been Mennonites but at least one family was still Mennonite and later two other of these families were listed as having come back into the Mennonite fold.
2. On October 25, 1683, Francis Daniel Pastorius, promoter of the Germantown settlement, had lots drawn in his home for the land along the single street of Germantown village, which had been laid out the previous day. Settlement on these lots began immediately.
3. At first the Quakers and Mennonites of Germantown worshipped together, likely in the home of Quaker Thones Kunders.
4. In 1688 the historic Germantown Protest Against Slavery was written, perhaps in the home of Thones Kunders. The four signatories were Quakers. Three came from a Mennonite background and one from a Lutheran Pietist background. Among the four was Abraham up Den Graeff, who later rejoined the Mennonites. Historians among both the Mennonites and Quakers have concluded that the document shows Mennonite influence.
5. By 1690 the Mennonites were meeting for worship with their lay leader Dirk Keyser reading sermons. He had come to America in 1688. They worshipped in the home of Isaac Jacobs van Bebber.
6. In 1690 (One translation says 1698) the Mennonites chose William Rittenhouse to be their preacher and Jan Neuss their deacon.
7. In 1690 William Rittenhouse built the first papermill in the colonies. He had come from Amsterdam in 1688. He made efforts to have the Dordrecht Confession of Faith translated into English but he died (1708) before it was done.
8. In 1702 Jacob Gottschalk was ordained assistant preacher. He had the Dordrecht Confession translated into English and printed in 1712.
9. In 1708 the first Mennonite meetinghouse in America, a log structure, was erected on the present church property, on land deeded by Arnold van Vossen.
10. In 1708 three deacons and two preachers were ordained to serve the forty families of the combined Dutch and German groups. A 1708 list of members has only the Jan Lensen family from the 1683 immigrant list.
11. On May 9, 1708, the first baptismal service was held at the church, with Bishop Gottschalk baptizing eleven, bringing the membership to 45. Two weeks later the congregation had its first communion service.
12. By 1712 the membership reached 99, its highest number. This included the new Skippack settlement, which became a separate congregation by 1725, subsequent to the location of ministers Martin Kolb and Jacob Gottschalk in the Skippack community, who moved there from Germantown.
13. In 1770 the present Germantown Mennonite Church was built for its twenty-five members.
14. In 1771 Christopher Doek died. A pioneer teacher among the Mennonites, he had taught four summers in the Germantown Mennonite Church.
15. By 1798 the services for the approximately 50 members were conducted by visiting members of the Franconia Conference ministry.
16. In 1847 the congregation became a part of the new Eastern District Conference, but in 1851 it chose to follow the newly formed Hunsicker group. Twenty-five years later it returned to the Eastern District Conference.
17. In 1908 the church built an addition to the meetinghouse and in 1952 the interior of the church was restored to its colonial simplicity.
18. In 1953 a new corporation was formed to hold the church property in trust. The corporation represented the local congregation, the Eastern District Conference, and the General Conference Mennonite Church.
19. In 1970 the former corporation was replaced by an inter-Mennonite corporation with fifteen persons on its board.
20. In 1971 the board established an Information and Witness Center adjacent to the church, at 6117 Germantown Avenue.

In 1690 there was one Mennonite congregation in North America. By 1972 the Mennonites had spread across the United States and Canada and into Mexico. Of their approximately 500,000 adult baptized members, approximately 270,000 live in North America. They and their related groups in North America support approximately 1400 missionaries in forty-eight countries in five continents. In addition thousands of their young people have served, or are now serving, abroad in at least ninety countries in relief projects under their Mennonite Central Committee. Locally the Germantown Mennonite Church welcomes visitors at its services every Sunday morning while the Information and Witness Center not only entertains tourists and other visitors but also participates in community service projects.

Church Address
6121 Germantown Ave.
Philadelphia, Pa. 19144

Information Center
6117 Germantown Ave.
Philadelphia, Pa. 19144

MENNONITE HISTORICAL BULLETIN

Vol. XXXIII

JULY, 1972

No. 3

JAMES L. BARTON, CHAIRMAN SAMUEL T. DUTTON, VICE-CHAIRMAN CHARLES V. VICKREY, SECRETARY CLEVELAND H. DODGE, TREASURER

AMERICAN COMMITTEE FOR RELIEF IN THE NEAR EAST

INCORPORATED BY ACT OF CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

ONE MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK

CABLE ADDRESS, LAYMEN TELEPHONE, GRAMERCY 1024

DEPOSITORY, NATIONAL CITY BANK, NEW YORK

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JOHN R. MOTT
FRANK MASON NORTH
GEORGE
RT. R.
KARL
WILL
WM.
ALB
W.

January 20, 1919.

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN:

This is to certify that

Chris Graber has been duly appointed a member of the relief expedition under the direction of the American Committee for Relief in the Near East with instructions to render on behalf of the Committee such service as may be within his or her power in relief of suffering in Western Asia.

The work of this Committee is purely humanitarian and is carried on in cooperation with the American Red Cross, without distinction as to race, nationality or religion.

In behalf of the Committee,

Samuel T. Dutton
Chairman Ex. Comm.

C. V. Vickrey
Secretary.

F. W. MacCallum
Assistant Treasurer.

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In the retrospect of over 50 years it is clear that for the Mennonite Church, World War I was a continental divide. The total experience exposed the Church to new contacts with government, with other religious groups, and with a world of need. The response of the Church called for new ventures in missions, relief, and education. These in turn produced tensions, schisms, and even tactics of withdrawal in traditional Mennonite fashion. In order to understand both the creative and disruptive influences that the World War I experiences brought it is helpful to look at a few of the documents of the times.

Many of the following letters were found in the files of the War Problems Committee of the Mennonite Church of World War I days. This Committee carried the chief burden of negotiating with the U. S. Government, private agencies, and individuals, as the Church sought to find its way. The documents reproduced in the Bulletin were selected with a view to tracing the origins and directions of alternative service during and immediately after World War I. (G. M. S.)

Alternative to War

1972 is the year of Mennonite World Conference, of "Probe '72," and "Mission '72." It is also again the year of historical celebration: the coming of the Amish to Ontario in 1822; a Virginia sesquicentennial focused around the building of the first Virginia Mennonite Meeting House at Trissels. Both Virginia and Ontario are celebrating—Trissels, on September 30–October 1; Kitchener-Waterloo, on October 8 and 9. (The Historical Committee will convene October 6–7 at Waterloo, and then join with the celebration there.) The October issue of the BULLETIN will reflect something of this note of celebration.

1972 is also the year of national politicking and the all-too-usual international warring, reminiscent of a slightly revised saying of old: "There shall be wars, and rumors of peace."

The times-of-old which reflect something of the present mood are those of the late 1910s and early '20s, as, for example, a communication on 18 November 1918 from the National Civil Liberties Bureau (forerunner of the present American Civil Liberties Union):

... The coming of peace will bring with it a challenge for the serious work of regaining liberties that have been lost, of gaining recognition for those who are in prison because of their beliefs and of securing the repeal of those measures of oppression whose life is not limited to the duration of the war.

The present issue of the BULLETIN will also reflect something of this mood of half-a-century ago, both within the Mennonite brotherhood, and from the vantage point of the state.

But we also look to a century ago for some striking parallels. Recently we discovered, in the possession of James Rhodes, Middlebury, Indiana, an extensive diary of his ancestor, Samuel A. Rhodes, recounting the latter's Civil War experiences from 1 March 1861 to 3 April 1864. Rhodes fled from his Harrisonburg, Virginia home, rather than be subject to an almost certain induction into the Confederate Army. The refugee spanned the Midwest in his journeys, generally stopping with relatives and acquaintances, working wherever there was opportunity, that is, if his frail health would permit. Rhodes' travels took him from Pennsylvania through to Iowa during the three years he remained in the North. His sojourns were a mortal threat to his well-being. Consumption, most probably, brought about his death in 1864, while a grueling war was still raging.

(Samuel Horst, Eastern Mennonite College, author of *Mennonites in the Confederacy: A Study in Civil War Pacifism*, is presently editing the entire diary for publication in the *Mennonite Quarterly Review*.)

Excerpts from the Diary deserve attention within our given context, but also in light of the extensive listing of names throughout the account. It is not yet clear how many of the names are Mennonite, and how many are "Tunker" (Brethren), etc. The excerpts below have been slightly edited, the original spellings, however, retained in most cases.

The Rebellion, the Cause of My Traveling Adventures to the North

Samuel A. Rhodes was born near Harrisonburg, Rockingham County, Virginia, in the year of our Lord, July the 19, 1841.

When this rebellion first broke out I had my residence in Virginia. I was well satisfied I was unmolested, no one to make me afraid. But it appeared to grow worse and worse until the authorities called for troops. Then I began to see the darke cloudes of Sivil war hovering over us. But I still remained there a period of time longer untill a draft was issued by the arthorities of that vinity, taken about one-half of my relitive friends from my side, including my brother which began to give

me sorrowfull feelings. For that draft I was exempt until Mar. 1, 1861 when all the balance of the men left between 18 and 45. But I still was unmolested. But I felt verry lonely, delicate of health, and somewhat affected with the blues. Sorrowes were continueally flowing ever my mind. My exemption lasted untill that summer, untill spring, Mar. 1, 1862, when the people become dissatisfied and got the law and courtmartial upset. The cause of this law being upset was this that some men got off by paing the board of the courtmartial Sirtain amounts of money which the people would not suffer this. The first courtmartial

was held at Port Republic where I got exempted. The second was held at Harrisonburg of our county. This struck my mind that perhapse this was some trap that they had plotted out to get the men together and take them wright in to service. I had thought of making my escape if I could instead of going to Harrisonburg, to try the board of exemption. I started a journey to make my escape. I started at Pleasant Run near J. B. Mill and traveled about 9 miles to Muddy Creek about 2 miles west of a village called Rushville. Here was a company of about 50 that was a going to try to make there escape, this being about the middle of March, perhaps [the] 15[th]. But I being too late, the company being gone, I remained there until the next evening. Then I in company with 7 others started on a journey, the preasant circumstances being gloomy at the time that we consulted one another for some time. But at last [we] started about 10 o'clock in the night with rashons for better than a week, taking a western course from Muddy Creek near Whisons Mill. After traveling several miles through fields and woods we reacheat a public road that was cald the Dry River Road, or Mountain Road. We traveled on this road untill 2 o'clock when we reached a house that was in the neighbourhood of some gap at the mountain. Here we feard some dainger in crossing this gap, but supposing these people to be for the Union, one of our company went in to get some instruction. Aff[t]er a short time, called us all in the house, builded up a large fire which appeared verry comfortably. We staid here until 4 o'clock. They informed us that there was about 50 just on before us. Directed us to take a pth way on to the Petersburg Road. So at 4 o'clock we again started, increased our company to 12 in number.

... Finally we came to a house in the mountains. We all past the house, but one of the company staid back and then he went up and maid some inquiries. They informed him that we were going towards Brocks-gap instead of Petersburg, informing us that the company on before us was caught, taken up by the citizens of Petersburg. This discouraged our little company. We were then in dangerous disposition wright there in the public road, and it being allmost daylight we became confused. Some got angry at the leader and some wanted to go back and take

the other end of the road. . . .

After two months, much of this time being spent in hiding at home in Harrisonburg, Rhodes is game to begin again.

. . . On Monday my friend A. J. Bowers and myself started out to see what was going on, and before night the Confederate troops got in Harrisonburg with about 300 cavalry. Now the time began to get gloomy. I proposed to my friend Bowers that if he would go with me to the West, the state of Ohio, that I would pay the way as far as my money would reach, and the balance of the way we would walk. Now we was about to start, but our friend all advi[s]ed us that we would better to try the tramp. But I told my friend that if he would go, that I insure that I could flank the arma as I was well acquainted with the roads. So about 10 o'clock in the night, it being May 5, we started on a journey to the state of Ohio. . . .

The young men reach their destination. Rhodes continues his *Diary* for another twenty-five pages, recounting how they managed to slip through the Union Army and move into the North. . . .

The *Freundschaft of Rhodes*, mentioned in the diary, includes: P. S. Heatwole, Uncle H. H. Rodes, Samuel Coffman, Aunt Elizabeth Weaver, Aunt Magdalene Rodes, Cousin Daniel (?), Old Doctor Heatwole, Daniel Showalter, Jacob Phifer, Abriham Funks, Frederick Miller, John Cline, Mr. Hover, Rev. John Rinherd, A. J. Bowers, Henry C. Bearry, Samuel Long, Mriham Fisher, the Stoners, the Angels, Jessa Roops, the Koops, Charles Devaules, John Simpson, Thonton Pooles, William Stoner, David Angels, Matyn Miller, John Tomas (Fomas?) ("an old Verginian"), Joseph Mathena, Jacob A. Rhodes, J. W. Wenger, P. S. Rodes, Ausbin Lawler, James H. Lawler, S. S. Rhodes, John H. Rodes, J. H. Baker, Peter Scots, Liman Hall, J. H. Wenger, Jacob Florys, A. J. Rhodes, Peter Wolf, Anna Rhodes (mother of Samuel A. Rhodes), Daniel Rhodes (brother), Peter S. Heatwole (cousin).

The main part of the *Diary* closes with the following:

I wish to note the time from January 1864 to each day of all my future life. I am verry sorry that I did not note the time from the time I left home. The foregoing pages gives some account of my adventures as well as I could give, according to my ability. The latter claus of the book will give my adventures of the future and notes of each day. So I will close this by adding no mo. Written by Samuel A Rhod, a refugee of Rockingham County, near Harrisonburg, Virginia.

Brother Christian Good, Whose Gun Was "Out of Order"

Another Civil War story, known only from oral history sources, centers in the experiences of Christian Good. The account is found in a letter from L. J. Heatwole to J. S. Hartzler, requested by the latter as documentation for a projected book he was writing on the Great War (Mennonites in the World War, or Nonresistance Under Test, by J. S. Hartzler, 1921.) We include the entire document which recounts quite a different story from that of Rhodes. It is one individual's attempt to come to terms with the Gospel of love in times of great civil crisis.

Dale Enterprise, Va.
Dec. 11th, 1918

Dear Brother [J. S.] Hartzler,

Your card of the 9th is at hand and noted.—In regard to Bro. Chr. Good's experiences and trials in time of the Civil War, I am almost sure that he never left any account of them in writing, but I have heard the story related again and again by himself and younger brothers; besides I have a distinct recollection of the time when these incidents occurred.

Christian and a younger brother, Daniel Good, were drafted early in the beginning of the war. They were sons of a widowed mother and almost her sole means for support of herself and a number of small children. A strong plea was made to the officials for their release, but these appeals were not heeded and both sons were sent to camp at Winchester, Va., where they remained during the winter of '61 and '62. Daniel found his way home and later attempted to pass through the lines with 60 or 70 others as refugees who were all captured and carried as prisoners to prison at Richmond, Va.

Christian remained in the ranks and with the opening of the campaign against Harpers Ferry, he and other brethren were finding their consciences violated while standing picket where the rule was, "when a soldier or stranger approached the line, he was commanded to halt, then to advance toward the picket's bayonet, and give the counter-sign."

Later they found themselves out in the firing line, when Christian Good's pledge to his mother was brought to the test. On the order given to fire, when he and other brethren refused to shoot, Christian was the first to be discovered and was reported to the officer, who called him to appear before him to answer to the charge of disobeying orders. He was ordered back to his place with the threat, that if the offence was repeated that he would have him court-martialed and shot. The offence was repeated a number of times and became generally known among all members of his company, among whom he was known as "the man who would not shoot."

Because of his firm stand, other brethren also withheld their fire, and were joked with by their comrades as the boys whose guns were "out of order." Christian, with others were again brought before the officer to answer to the charge of not firing their guns when commanded to do so, when he boldly replied that his gun never would be fired at his fellow man if it cost his own life and that he had left a widowed mother at home who had expected him to keep a sacred pledge that forbade him to fire a gun at an enemy or any other man.

Upon this declaration the officer broke out into a hoarse hearty laugh, and in short order had him and other brethren detailed to drive teams.

This duty they performed during the rest of the campaign of 1862, when the Southern army retreated southward through the Shenandoah Valley. When reaching a point on the Valley Pike near Harrisonburg, he abandoned his team by allowing the horses to continue with the wagon on into town of their own free will.

He reached his mother's home at a late hour in the night, where appearing before the awakened family, his first question was "Where is Dan?" meaning his brother who had disappeared from the army some time before; he was told that he had just started as a refugee on his way through the lines, having started shortly before he came. To him the news was a great shock,—he said "The lines are all guarded on the frontier, and he will surely be captured," which prediction became too true.

Christian remained at home during the six weeks' captivity of [his] brother at Richmond and at the time of his home coming, himself and brother were exempted as Mennonites on payment of \$500 dollars each.

These fines were paid by the Church, and Christian worked on the farm for two years to redeem himself.

Respectfully submitted.

[signed] L. J. Heatwole

The First World War and Mennonite Nonresistance

The United States declared war on Germany on April 6, 1917. In light of such a drastic turn in events, how were the Bill of Rights and Congressional laws to be interpreted and applied to the case of the conscientious objector? The principle of rights for "COs" had been established. How were these principles to be worked out? The Church decided to take the initiative on this, since the government did not seem eager to work at a clarification of its (still nebulous) CO policy. The Civil War had set a rather tenuous precedent at best. How were COs to be dealt with?

On August 29, 1917, Mennonite General Conference, in session at the Yellow Creek Church, near Goshen, Indiana, appointed Aaron Loucks, S. G. Shetler and D. D. Miller as a war problems committee—sometimes referred to as the "Loucks Committee" to represent the church in dealing with the wartime exigencies. The Committee met that same week with Secretary of War Newton D. Baker, sealing a policy which on the surface seemed satisfactory to both church and state. Immediately after this remarkable meeting, the Committee sent the following letter to church leaders throughout the country, informing them of the procedures outlined by Baker.

Alas, what seemed to be a bona fide agreement with the War Department turned out slightly different. This fact was discovered by the Church of the Brethren, during an interview they held with Secretary Baker, when he said that although he could confirm nine of the points, one point he could not accept, namely, point eight:

Those who can not accept any service, either combatant or non-combatant, will be assigned to some other service, not under the military arm of government.

A corrected copy of the statement was sent to Baker, who answered:

War Department, Washington, D. C., Sept. 14, 1917. My Dear Mr. Loucks: The Secretary of War asks me to thank you for your kindness in sending him a copy of the corrected form of statement regarding the interview referred to which is entirely satisfactory to him. F. P. Keppel.

The copy below is the corrected form, as found in the Archives of the Mennonite Church. It is printed in a slightly different form in Hartzler's Mennonites in the World War.

Washington, D. C.
September 1, 1917

Dear Brother,

In an interview with the Secretary of War Baker, who received us very kindly, we received the following information and instructions:

1. That none of our brethren need serve in any capacity which violates their creed and consciences.
2. When they are called, they should report at the place designated on their notice.
3. From the place designated on their notice, they should go with others, who are drafted and called to the training camp.
4. Report to the army officers the church to which they belong and their belief in its creed and principles.
5. This nonresistant position will place them in detention camps, where they will be properly fed and cared for.
6. In these camps, they will not be uniformed nor drilled.
7. A list of services considered non-combatant will be offered, but they need not accept any in violation of their consciences.
8. Those who can not accept any service, either combatant or non-

combatant, will be held in detention camps to await such disposition of their case as the government may decide upon.

9. Our ministers will be allowed to visit the brethren at these camps and to keep in touch with them.

Mennonites generally followed through with the recommendations set forth by the Church. The men were inducted, often confined to prison, many of them mistreated, a few dying for their faith. Finally they were discharged. Some suffered imprisonment purely because of angry officials within the military. Others brought on imprisonment out of their own response of overt "righteous indignation." The following set of documents suggests something of the uneasiness at the time of induction; what could happen within the military system, if one were not a part of it yet was still bodily present within that very system; and how the conscientious objector fared at the end of his term of service.

The only other document which needs mentioning within this context is the one on the cover, for it too belonged as the next step in the lives of many a discharged conscientious objector who was concerned with building up where others had torn down.

Order of Induction into Military Service of the United States.

THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES,

To Chriss Graber

Order Number 1446

Serial Number 1026

Greeting: Having submitted yourself to a local board composed of

10. Our ministers will be privileged to give this information and advice to our brethren in private or in public meetings.

As a committee appointed by General Conference, assembled at Yellow Creek Church near Goshen, Indiana, August 29, 1917, in consultation with a committee appointed by the Franconia Conference, and a committee of the Old Order Amish brethren, we are unanimously agreed to advise the following:

1. Since the interview with the war department, we advise our brethren to state their position on church creed and principles to the army officers at mobilization camps.
2. We again encourage our brethren not to accept any service, either combatant or non-combatant under the military arm of the government in violation of their consciences and the creed or principles of the church.

While our brethren will not be freed entirely, yet freed from serving under the military arm of the government, we should be very grateful for the consideration that the authorities have shown us.

May our churches everywhere continue to send prayers to the throne of grace in behalf of our young brethren in this trying hour and for those in authority so "that we may lead a quiet and peaceable life."

Your brethren,

Aaron Loucks
S. G. Shetler
D. D. Miller

General Conference Committee

your neighbors for the purpose of determining the place and time in which you can best serve the United States in the present emergency, you are hereby notified that you have now been selected for immediate military service.

You will, therefore, report to the local board named below at Washington, Iowa, at 1 p.m., July 22, 1918, for military duty.

From and after the day and hour

just named you will be a soldier in the military service of the United States.

R. H. McCARTY
Member of Local Board
for Washington, Iowa

Date July 16, 1918

HEADQUARTERS CENTRAL DEPARTMENT.

Chicago, Illinois
September 4, 1918

General)
Court Martial)
Orders No. 614)

Before a general court-martial which convened at Fort Riley, Kansas, pursuant to paragraph 26, Special Orders, No. 179, Headquarters Central Department, July 29, 1918, was arraigned and tried:

Private Emil W. Krieger, Company A, 1st Casual Bn. Conscientious Objectors.

Charges.

Charge I: Violation of the 64th Article of War.

Specification: In that Private Emil W. Krieger, Co. A, 1st Casual Battalion, Conscientious Objectors, having received a lawful order from 1st Lieutenant William E. Donaldson, his superior officer, to put on a Uniform of the United States Army, did, at Fort Riley, Kansas, on or about the 2nd day of August, 1918, willfully disobey the same by saying, "I refuse to put this Uniform on," or words to that effect.

Charge II. Violation of the 96th Article of War.

Specification: In that Private Emil W. Krieger, Co. A, 1st Casual Battalion, (Conscientious Objectors) having been told by 1st Lieut. William E. Donaldson, his superior officer, that he would be required in the future to perform Military Duty, did, at Fort Riley, Kansas, on or about the 2nd day of August, 1918; reply: "I refuse to do Military Duty of any kind."

Pleas.

To the Specification, Charge I: "Guilty."

To Charge I: "Guilty."

To the Specification, Charge II: "Guilty."

To Charge II: "Guilty."

Findings.

Of the Specification, Charge I: "Guilty."

Of Charge I: "Guilty."

Of the Specification, Charge II: "Guilty."

Of Charge II: "Guilty."

Sentence.

"To be dishonorably discharged from the service, to forfeit all pay

and allowances due or to become due, and to be confined at such place as the reviewing authority may direct for fifteen years."

The harshest treatment of all was applied to four Hutterites, John, David, and Michael Hofer, three brothers, and Jacob Wipf. C. Henry Smith, in his Coming of the Russian Mennonites (1927), recounts their story, part of which is herewith reprinted:

... When they arrived at camp [Lewis] they were asked to sign a card, promising obedience to all the military commands. Being absolute objectors to war service on religious grounds, they refused to sign. ...

After two months in the guard house, the four men were court-martialed and sentenced to 37 years which, however, was reduced to 20 years by the camp commander. ... Chained together two by two they were sent [to Alcatraz]. ... During the first four and half days they received no food whatsoever, and only half a glass of water every twenty-four hours. During the night they had to sleep on the wet, cold concrete floor without any blankets. The next one and half days they had to stand with their hands extended above their heads crosswise, and were in this position manacled to the bars so high that they could barely reach the floor with their feet. The strain was such that David, the discharged man who is now at home, says he still feels the effects in his sides. ...

At the end of five days they were taken out of the "hole" and brought into the court yard, where a number of other prisoners were standing. Some of them were touched with compassion at the pitiful sight of the sufferers, and one of them said with tears in his eyes: "Isn't it a shame to treat men like that"; for the men were covered with scurvy eruptions, were insect bitten and their arms had swollen so badly that they could not get the sleeves of their jackets over them. They had also been beaten with clubs in the dungeon, and Michael had once been beaten so brutally that he fell to the floor unconscious. ...

... They were transferred from Alcatraz island to Ft. Leavenworth. ... They arrived ... at 11 o'clock at night, and were driven through the streets, under much noise and prodding of bayonets as if they were swine. Chained together at the wrists, carrying their satchels in one hand, and a Bible and extra pair of shoes under their arms, they were hurried on in a cruel manner up the hill toward the prison.

When they reached the gate they were covered with sweat, so that

even their hair was wet, and in this condition in the raw winter air, they were again compelled to put off their own outer clothing, while the prison garb was being brought to them. It took two hours, till one o'clock in the morning until they were taken into the prison, and by that time they were chilled to the bone. In the morning they were called at five o'clock, and had again to stand and wait out in the cold. Joseph and Michael Hofer broke down and had to be taken to the hospital at once.

Jacob Wipf and David Hofer were sent to solitary confinement because they refused to take up prison work under military control. They had to stretch their hands out through the bars, where they were manacled together, and thus they had to stand nine hours a day on a bread and water diet. This continued for fourteen days, after which they would get regular meals for fourteen days and so on alternately.

When Joseph and Michael Hofer became ill, Jacob Wipf sent a telegram home to the wives of the two sufferers, who took the next train at night accompanied by a male friend to go and see their husbands. Both had small children. To make matters worse the depot agent insisted that the telegram had come from Ft. Riley, not from Ft. Leavenworth and sold them tickets to the wrong place. So they lost a day by going to Ft. Riley; and when they finally reached the military prison at eleven o'clock in the evening they found their husbands so near death that hardly a word could be spoken. When they came again early in the morning Joseph was already dead, and his body in charge of the undertaker. He could not be seen any more, it was said; but his wife, Marie, pushed the guards aside, pressed on through various doors until she reached the Colonel where she plead in tears to be allowed to see her husband once more. She was conducted to the place where the corpse had already been prepared and laid in the casket. She eagerly looked in through her tears; but alas, they had clad her husband's body in the military uniform which during his life he had so valiantly refused to don because it was objectionable to men of his religion.

Michael died a few days later, and was fitted out in his civilian clothes at the special request of his father who had meanwhile arrived. When dying he stretched forth his hands and said: "Come, Lord Jesus, into Thy hands I commit my spirit."

... On the sixth of December, the Secretary of War issued an order prohibiting further hand cuffing of

prisoners to iron bars, and other cruel punishments. When, however, some of the Huterish Brethren about five days later went to see Jacob in his solitary cell, he was still handcuffed to the bars for nine hours a day.

... On December 12, pursuant to Secretary Baker's order above referred to, handcuffing to the bars was discontinued at the military prison.

... About this time Jacob became ill, and had to be removed to the hospital, whence his story (which corroborates fully David's account) was first written to the outside world.

... The case of these Huterite Mennonites is one of peculiar severity; but hundreds of Mennonites and other non-resistants have suffered similar indignities and cruelties in the camp guard houses and military prisons. If any one has the nerve to call these men cowards, let him do so. At any rate they are living examples of how harmless religious people have to suffer in this enlightened day because their views and convictions do not correspond with the rest.

Theo. H. Lunde.

Chicago, Ill., February, 1919.

DISCHARGE FROM THE UNITED STATES ARMY.

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN:

THIS IS TO CERTIFY, THAT Chriss Graber, No. 3801750, Private Company "A" 1st Casual Battalion (Conscientious Objectors) THE UNITED STATES ARMY, is hereby DISCHARGED from the military service of the UNITED STATES by reason of Per Circular No 97 W.D. November 29, 1918. "This is a conscientious objector who has done no military duty whatsoever and who refused to wear the uniform."

Said Chriss Graber was born in Noble, in the State of Iowa.

When enlisted he was 23 8/12 years of age and by occupation a Farmer.

He had Gray eyes, Brown hair, Med. Light complexion, and was 5 feet 8 3/4 inches in height.

Given under my hand at Ft. Riley, Kansas this 3rd day of January, one thousand nine hundred and Nineteen.

(Office of the quartermaster, Finance Branch, Fort Riley, Kansas, Jan. 3, 1919; Paid in full: \$16.72.)

[signed] J. M. Kite [signature unclear] Captain, P. S. Retd (Active Duty).

Enlistment Record.

Name: Chriss Graber No 3801750

Grade: Private.

Enlisted, or inducted July 22, 1918 at Washington, Iowa.

Serving in First enlistment period at date of discharge.

Prior service: None.

Noncommissioned officer: N. com.

Marksmanship, gunner qualification or rating: No Practice.

Horsemanship: Not Mounted.

Battles, engagements, skirmishes, expeditions: None.

Knowledge of any vocation: Farmer.

Wounds received in service: None.

Physical condition when discharged: Good.

Typhoid prophylaxis completed August 8, 1918.

Paratyphoid prophylaxis completed: Not completed.

Married or single: Single.

Character: Good.

Remarks: Discharged per Circular No 97 W.D. November 29, 1918. No A.W.O.L. of record. No absence under G.O. 45 W.D. 1914. Soldier is entitled to travel pay and allowances.

Signature of soldier:

[signed] Chriss Graber.

IS NOT RECOMMENDED
FOR REENLISTMENT.

[signed] William E. Donaldson, 1st Lieut. Infantry U.S.A., Commanding Company "A" 1st Casual Bn.

The detailed program of the Secretary of War was communicated neither to draft board nor to community leaders. How much such a communication would have changed things is a moot question. At least something of the nature of local wrath in the heat of war comes to light in the fall of 1918. (The copy below, from the notes of Dr. Guy F. Hershberger. Source: Indiana State Council of Defense, Papers and Corresp., Series 3, Counties, Vol. 5, Elkhart County.).

Elkhart, Indiana
October 22, 1918

Robert E. Proctor, Elkhart attorney representing the Elkhart County Council of Defense, with responsibility for War Bonds and Savings; to M. E. Foley, Chm. State Council of Defense:

I have before me your letter of the 14th inst. and although I did not reply forthwith I have had conferences with Mr. Harry E. Bloom, editor of the *Middlebury Independent* and Oswald Martin, Deputy Sheriff and active member of the draft board of Goshen, both of whom are familiar with the conditions referred to in your letter.

From the information received from these gentlemen and the facts in my possession I want to say that the record this county has made by the sending of many of our draftees from military camps to Ft. Leavenworth prison is due to the influence of men like Rev. Dan D. Miller and D. J. Johns of Clinton Township and I trust that you will very seriously take this matter in hand and give this element an airing and housecleaning that will be productive of good.

This matter was investigated some months ago by F. S. Fortune out of the office of District Attorney Wertz of Worcester, Ohio, and he advised the Board at Goshen that the men participating in what we call the Yellow Creek conference, a pamph-

let¹, explaining which I am enclosing for your inspection, would be indicted, but to date nothing further has been done. Since you have referred the matter to me I intend to give it preferred attention and will this week interview Rev. Miller, who is pastor of the Mennonite or Forks Church, R.R. # 4, Middlebury, Indiana; also Milo Hershberger, brother of Roland Hershberger, the latter of whom is the soldier boy who died while in the service of his country. Milo Hershberger during last week, in the presence of Mr. Bloom and with Rev. Miller across the table from him reaffirmed his statement which has been given wide publicity that the Mennonite refused to preach this sermon and is prepared to make an affidavit to this effect. I shall procure this affidavit.²

Speaking generally, the Amish, Dunkards, and Mennonites of this county are not at all loyal so far as performing military service is concerned. These men live principally in Locke and Union Townships, near Nappanee, Indiana, this county, Olive Township near Wakarusa, Indi-

¹ Entitled: "A Statement of our Position on Military Service as Adopted by the Mennonite General Conference, August 29, 1917," in *Hartzler*, p. 61-65.

² Rev. D. D. Miller had never been asked in the first place to preach at the soldier's funeral. Furthermore his previously planned schedule had him visiting Army Camp Zachary Taylor. See the *Goshen Daily Democrat*, Sept. 16, 1918.

ana, this county, Clinton Township near Millersburg, this county, and Middlebury Township near Middlebury, this county and you can see from the inspection of the Yellow Creek statement that they are banding together for the purpose of advising with one another regarding this service. In addition, Miller and others, so I am reliably informed, are in a military camp somewhere about every Sunday. This Mr. Martin advises is the truth and it seems to me that there should be no difficulty in stopping this gentleman from entering these camps for the purpose of giving "spiritual advice" to his sect. He stands so well apparently with someone that he has succeeded in getting his own son—not into prison—but into a non-combatant service for Belgian service or some other camouflaged work out of Philadelphia.³

I trust this will get you started on the matters involved and as soon as you have made a copy of the pamphlet or finished with it please return it to me as it is the only copy we have.

P.S. I would suggest that you write me a letter empowering me as representative of the State Council of Defense to make such investigation and require such attendance of witnesses as may be necessary. This kind of a letter aided me in removing the Deputy Auditor regarding which we had some correspondence a few months ago.

Oct. 24, 1918

M. E. Foley to Robert E. Proctor:

This situation in your county deserves careful consideration. I hereby authorize and direct you, as a representative of the State Council of Defense, to make full investigation of the Rev. Dan D. Miller and D. J. Johns, of Clinton Township. I feel that it is time to report to the Federal authorities all persons who are openly opposing this war or seeking to influence young men not to do their duty in the war. I do not want to punish anyone. I want to see, in so far as it is possible, that justice is done every citizen in Indiana. Please thoroughly investigate this matter and report your findings to me with any evidence that you may be able to locate in the form of affidavits.

I am sending you a copy of the Espionage Act. Probably you have it, but I thought best to send you a copy. An examination of this act will disclose the fact that persons

talking against the government of the United States at this time are in dangerous business.

Sept. 24, 1918

R. E. Proctor to J. D. Oliver (N. Indiana War Bonds representative, working out of South Bend), on National War Savings Committee stationery:

I have before me copy of a letter received by you Sept. 6th from D. J. Johns of Clinton Township. The chairman of this Township insists that Mr. Johns is a leader of a sect which ought to be given some drastic treatment.

I wish you would take this matter up with Johns and inform him that he must either buy W. S. S. or Liberty bonds or that the Treasury Department will take some severe action against him. He is a bad influence in Clinton Township and is attempting to represent men in the draft in obtaining deferred classifi-

cation. To permit him to go on unchallenged will mean that we will have more trouble with these people than we are having at this time.

Just recently an alleged minister near Middlebury refused to preach the funeral service over the body of a deceased soldier because the young man had died in the service of his country.⁴ Unless something is done to satisfy our committees you need not be surprised if a sort of Ku Klux Klan moves out in this vicinity some night and gives these people a coat of tar and feathers. I would not endorse this action but I would not disapprove it after it was done.

Signed, Robert E. Proctor, Co-Chairman. Enclosed with Proctor's letter to J. D. Oliver is a copy of the Yellow Creek Mennonite statement: "Mennonites on Military Service," adopted by Mennonite General Conference, August 29, 1917.

⁴ See footnote #2 above.

Although the "alleged minister near Middlebury" who supposedly refused to preach at a soldier's funeral had in actuality never been asked to preach in the first place, the impact of the allegation reverberated throughout the nation, thanks to one of the national press services.

Needless to say, point nine of Secretary of War Baker's instructions of a year earlier did not filter through to local officials. Nor was point ten understood by the department of justice, as the following copy of a search warrant indicates:

IN THE DISTRICT COURT
OF THE UNITED STATES
FOR THE WESTERN DISTRICT
OF PENNSYLVANIA.

To the United States Marshal for the Western District of Pennsylvania, and to his deputies, and to any or either of them, GREETING:

Whereas, Fred M. Ames, Special Agent of the Department of Justice, has this day made oath in writing before the undersigned, a United States Commissioner for the Western District of Pennsylvania, to the effect that he has good reason to believe, and does verily believe, and after examining on oath the said Fred M. Ames, there appearing to be probable cause for the belief, that in and upon certain premises within said district, to wit, at the Mennonite Publishing House, and in the possession and under the control of one Aaron Loucke (sic) and the Mennonite Publishing Company, at Scottdale, Pennsylvania, there has been and now is located and concealed certain property and papers, to wit: tracts known as No. 153, entitled "Nonresistance", published by the said Mennonite Publishing House of Scottdale, Pennsylvania, which said tracts have been used in connection with and as a means of committing a felony under the statutes of the United States, viz.: the

felony of unlawfully, knowingly and wilfully conveying false reports and statements with intent to interfere with the operation and success of the military and naval forces of the United States; and the further felony of causing insubordination, disloyalty, mutiny and refusal of duty in the military and naval forces of the United States, and the further felony of obstructing and attempting to obstruct the recruiting and enlistment service of the United States to the injury of the service and to the injury of the United States, and the further felony of wilfully uttering, printing, writing and publishing language intended to incite, provoke and encourage resistance to the United States and to promote the cause of its enemies; and the further felony of wilfully advocating, teaching, defending and suggesting the acts and things hereinbefore referred to in violation of Section 3, Title I, of the Act of Congress of June 15, 1917, as amended by the Act of Congress of May 16th, 1918.

And further, that said property and tracts before referred to are possessed, controlled and used by the said Mennonite Publishing House and Aaron Loucke (sic) in violation of Section 22 of Title XI, of the Act of Congress approved June 15, 1917; contrary to the form of the Act of Congress in such case made and pro-

³ Truman T. Miller, son of D. D. Miller, did later serve in France under the Reconstruction program of the American Friends Service Committee.

vided and against the peace and dignity of the United States of America.

Now, therefore, pursuant to the authority and direction of the provisions of Title XI, of the Act of Congress approved June 15, 1917, you are hereby authorized, empowered and directed to enter said premises, hereinbefore described, in the daytime and thoroughly search the same for all such property and papers hereinbefore described and to seize and take the same into your possession to the end that the same may be dealt with according to law, making due return thereof as is required by law.

[signed] Roger Knox,
U. S. Commissioner

A hand-written receipt is attached to the original copy of the above document:

August 6, 1918.

Received of the Mennonite Publishing Co. 150 copies of tract no. 153 entitled *Nonresistance* being all of said tract now in possession of said publishing co.

[signed] Wm B. Herrington
[spelling unclear], U. S. Deputy Marshal.

Not all copies of the tract had been confiscated, as evidenced by the copy herewith reproduced, tract "No. 153":

TRACT No. 153 NONRESISTANCE The Foundation

Resist not evil . . . whosoever will smite thee on thy right cheek, turn to him the other also . . . Love your enemies, bless them that curse you, do good to them that hate you, pray for them which despitefully use you, and persecute you; that ye may be the children of your Father which is in heaven.—Matt. 5:39-45.

All they that take the sword shall perish with the sword.—Matt. 26:52.

My kingdom is not of this world; if my kingdom were of this world, then would my servants fight.—Jno. 18:36.

Recompense to no man evil for evil . . . Dearly beloved, avenge not yourselves, but rather give place unto wrath . . . If thine enemy hunger, feed him; if he thirst give him drink . . . Be not overcome of evil, but overcome evil with good.—Rom. 12:17-21.

The weapons of our warfare are not carnal, but mighty through God.—II Cor. 10:4.

Some Facts Concerning War

The teaching of the Gospel is against it.

All men profess to hate it.

Practically all men testify against it—except when moved by war passions.

It is woefully destructive to wealth, life, and happiness.

Might, not justice, decides its issues.

It always requires a "reconstruction period" after hard-fought conflicts for nations to recover from the moral degradation and lawlessness which invariably follow in the wake of war.

The reign of militarism usually proves the undoing of a nation. The annals of history contain no records of nations that long retained commanding power after an era of conquest.

The men who are responsible for war seldom get within range of the enemy's bullets.

As a rule, both sides are losers.

Testimony of Noted Warriors

War is the business of barbarians.—Napoleon.

Men who have nice notions of religion have no business to be soldiers.—Wellington.

War is hell.—Sherman.

War is but organized barbarism.—Louis Napoleon.

If Europe will ever be ruined it will be by its warriors.—Montesquieu.

The truth is, good men can not be good men and fighting men. They must have the devil in them. To kill one another, they must have their blood up, and then they are just like devils.—Hooker.

The Christian's Duty

To pray for our rulers.—I Tim. 2:1-3.

To be submissive unto the powers that be.—Rom. 13:1-5; Tit. 3:1, 5; Tit. 3:1.

To pay tribute.—Rom. 13:5-7.

To obey God, even though the powers that be may command us to do otherwise.—Acts 5:29.

To help young men who, for conscience' sake, are loaded down with financial burdens which they are unable to bear.—Gal. 6:2, 10.

To live a quiet and peaceable life, a life of holiness, consistent with our profession.—I Tim. 2:2; Eph. 4:1.

To be discreet in conduct and in speech.—Col. 4:6.

To hear ready testimony concerning what we believe.—I Pet. 3:15.

To put forth redoubled efforts to make Christ known to the world.—Matt. 28:19.

A safe rule for nonresistant people: To improve every opportunity to relieve suffering caused by war, but never to have any part in anything which helps war to bring on suffering.

From the passage of the conscription law on May 18, 1917, to the end of the war, the pressure on the conscientious objector to accept noncombatant service in the medical, quartermaster, and engineering corps was heavy and persistent. The Mennonite response was usually to reject noncombatant service as inconsistent with the nonresistant point of view. The official Mennonite position was of course from the beginning one of opposition.

An exchange of correspondence between O. B. Gerig (a drafted man, at the time at Haverford, Pennsylvania, in training for Reconstruction work under the American Friends Service Committee, a service which had been officially approved by the Mennonite Church), and J. S. Hartzler (serving at the time as secretary to the "Loucks Committee") reflects something of the Problems the Church was facing.

Merion Hall,
Haverford, Pa
Oct 9 '18

J. S. Hartzler,
Scottdale, Pa.

My dear Bro. Hartzler: For some time I had intended to write to you but transfers and work made me neglect it. Just recently, however, I was informed of a ministers' counsel held at Scottdale where a number of the brethren considered the question of drafted men accepting some kind of [noncombatant military] service. This is why I'm writing at this time. I'm interested in the decision.

I still can not believe the first report I received, viz., that the church sanctions the so-called army recon-

struction¹ and the wearing of the uniform. Such a compromise, it seems to me, would seriously threaten the very foundation of the principle we as a church have chosen to preserve.

I realize that the two avenues of service hitherto open to the C.O. in our church have not satisfactorily disposed of all the cases. Probably some could not or did not wish to enter the Friends Reconstruction work. Others who took the other alternative of the farm furlough have not had smooth sailing with this. In some quarters the latter seems unsuccessful and this presents an acute problem. No doubt army reconstruction has been thought by

¹ The "Army Reconstruction" service proposed by the War Department was a proposal that COs serve in Army hospitals for the "reconstruction" of sick and wounded soldiers.

some of our leaders to partially solve this problem. At the same time I realize that there is strong sentiment among some of our people in the home community in favor of the President's non-combatant service (either medical or quartermaster) and this sentiment can not be tacitly ignored. I was astonished some time ago to find that one of our rather conservative deacons favored noncombatant service, so it is not strange that others should take the same attitude. I therefore very apologetically state my views which differ some from that of this element in the church and from reports, differ also from the concurring majority of the Scottdale counsel to which I have referred. Will you not credit me with a sincere earnest motive in addressing this to you?

I fear a compromise on "army reconstruction" because the Board of Inquiry, when it examines C.O.s rather urgently tries to get them to accept it. They say: "Would you not feel better if when the war is over you could say that you wore a uniform and were a soldier of the United States?" Also: "The people back home won't consider you a slacker." Now for those very arguments I would not accept this service as a conscientious objector. We do not want to be called soldiers of Uncle Sam with all that that implies. This is just what we object to.

Again it has been suggested and very reasonably so that "army reconstruction" has been chosen by those in authority to act as decoy for "Friends Reconstruction." And some I know have unwittingly been caught in the trap. It is unnecessary for me to say that one is a military function, the other a civilian which makes the first objectionable to a nonresistant organization.

Further, all attempts we made to have this new army reconstruction specifically explained to us, as to the nature of the work required etc., resulted in a vague general answer by the Board of Inquiry and Camp officials. However more complete information may have been secured by the brethren from the War department. But this manifest refusal to explain it looks as if they considered it unlikely that a C.O. should accept it if explained.

Further, if the Board of Inquiry discovers that the church has given sanction to army reconstruction, it will be next to impossible for later C.O.s to get into Friends Reconstruction because they urge the other first. This would be very unfortunate both for the men—for the Mennonite supporters of the Reconstruction—and for the amicable relations that have been formed between the Mennonites and the

Friends thru their cooperation in this work.

Further, we have seen what compromise has done to the Church of the Brethren. They have accepted army reconstruction and other non-combatant service and as a result their name is scarcely ever mentioned incident to nonresistance. They have manifestly lost their identity on this principle. It is very unlikely that future generations in that organization will be recognized as nonresistant. The public has not stamped them as C.O.s and probably they are not deserving of this high privilege. But there is a danger in sacrificing a whole principle, in compromise.

Some of our men are still in the guard house, some are sentenced to Fort Leavenworth, numerous are the cases of those who have suffered persecution to a greater or less degree to keep the principle of non-resistance, so long fostered by . . . the church, intact. For us to retract now would certainly place these brethren in an awkward and embarrassing position to say nothing of the resulting disrespect it might show toward their heroic Christian courage. I may say here also that those of us who have gone thru the camp have not been unmindful of the prayers of . . . our friends in the faith, without which we would be in more dire circumstances than we now are. There have been many petitions in our behalf clothed with the desire that we stand firm without compromise. The reflection would extend to them also.

Beyond any doubt a man in army reconstruction is considered by army officials as a full-fledged soldier. Should he die in that position a military funeral might be requested by the government. A man, perhaps who might have been ordained since the war began on May 17, 1917, and who is in Class I, if accepting army reconstruction would be required to preach in a military uniform if he were asked to preach at all when on furlough. I can hardly imagine that our people in general would be sympathetic to a minister preaching in a military uniform. (The uniform is not only urged but required in army reconstruction.)

Perhaps I have already said too much. My reasoning may be illogical and faulty but I can't help expressing my regret if such a step is taken.

Contrary to what I formerly thought, I am not ashamed to be called a stand-pat uncompromising conscientious objector on religious grounds. I can see no honorable position in a half way stand. At this time we must show what we are. . . . I for one am in favor of having our

church go down in history as out and out nonresistant, being opposed to aiding or abetting war in any way whatsoever.

Dr. Rufus Jones told me he met you at their executive meeting. He said they were pleased with the men who represented our church and the spirit with which they cooperate.

It is also the opinion of members of the Friends Committee that a sanction of the church to army reconstruction or any form of non-combatant service is a barrier for the men who desire to do Friends reconstruction work.

We are still in training here awaiting passage on the French Line to France.

Influenza is very prevalent in Phila. It is reported there are 180,000 cases and a daily death list of over 200 in Phila alone.

We are all well at Merion Hall and trust this will find you enjoying the same blessing.

Will you not inform me what has been done relative to the matter under discussion in this letter?

Very sincerely yours,

[signed] O. B. Gerig

10/11/18

O. B. Gerig,
Haverford, Pa.

Dar Brother:

Bravo! Your position is the same as that [which] the church stands on and I hope shall stand on for all time. You have the right idea in regard to the Church of the Brethren. They have lost out in a way that will be very detrimental to them along many other lines. I am indeed sorry for them.

I am certainly glad for your full concise statement of your position on this question. It shows that you have given the matter a careful consideration. It is one thing to be put up against those things where you have to meet it and solve it out for yourself and quite another for a person to be nonresistant when the question of war is not raised at all.

You will notice the term "reconstruction" in the enclosed which was adopted at the meeting at Scottdale recently, but you notice that it was only on condition that the military uniform need not be worn. Of course we realize that this could never be granted with military reconstruction, but Dr. Keppel told us that the present plan of Farm Furlough was so unsatisfactory that something must be done. That in the future they might leave some of the boys here where they would be placed in groups of possibly 40 or more, but that the solution now seemed to be to take the boys all

over to France, place them under a civilian and have them level the land and get it ready to farm, and also to do agricultural work. In fact you will notice 2 things which will keep it from being accepted in connection with Military Reconstruction. (1). The military uniform is not to be worn. We would not object to a uniform which meant something different from militarism; for illustration, in your work in France you will be required to wear a uniform (if I am rightly informed) but it is the Friend's uniform. I only found one of the men here at the meeting that was weak on the military uniform. He found the sentiment so overwhelmingly opposed to the military uniform that he did not even dare to state his position until he got home and wrote it in a letter. (2). They are not to be directly under the military establishment. This severs it from the point that you feared. Our aim was that since the War Department was wrestling with the question, that we show the objectionable features: Militarism, and uniform; and at the same time show our willingness to do something. Of

course, we had to be very careful of the espionage law. We want to be law-abiding, ready for service.

I have just recently hatched out something which I have written to the Hon. R. C. McCrea, civil commissioner at Washington. I did it without saying to any one that I was going to write it. If the Government will allow that, it will solve the problem for a great many and at the same time keep the boys far enough away that there will be no trouble. If it works out, I may get a call to Washington in a few days. If so, I expect to come to Haverford for some inspection and instruction.

The fourth liberty loan is causing some disturbance but in most cases the matter has been fixed on the Bank Deposit plan. Otherwise things are going along quietly, except where influenza has taken hold. Suppose that you know ere this that Susanna Nice died, either last Sunday or Monday. Do not have particulars. However, we have it that it was influenza.

Your brother,
[J. S. Hartzler]

The proposed program that Hartzler had "hatched out" takes on special import in light of Alternative Service during World War II. It demonstrates how an idea does indeed need to evolve with the passing of months, and even years.

Here is truly the germinal idea of CPS of the 1940s, embodying both social and relief work. The idea of meeting the needs of the whole man was part and parcel of this vision which J. S. Hartzler was perhaps first to formulate in such a concrete manner.

Many facets of witness and service would emerge from the Mennonite experience in the First World War. The Chris Graber letter of appointment to relief in the Near East reproduced on the cover symbolizes the synthesis reached by the Mennonites.

The Mennonite Central Committee, with its world-wide concern for human beings, would follow in 1920, and the constant awareness that a prophetic vigilance is needed, if the church is to be the church, an entity somehow set apart from general society, in order to fulfill a very special task which indeed stands as an alternative to war. Tract No. "153" was not far off in this regard, and a segment of the confiscated tract bears repeating:

A safe rule for nonresistant people: To improve every opportunity to relieve suffering caused by war, but never to have any part in anything which helps war to bring on suffering.

Some of these thoughts run through the mind, in reflecting upon the above-mentioned correspondence between J. S. Hartzler, and R. C. McCrea, the War Department official who was entrusted with the new Farm Furlough program for conscientious objectors. We herewith print these two letters, which brings this chapter to a fitting close.

Scottdale, Pa., October 9, '18.
Hon. R. C. McCrea,
Washington, D. C.
Dear Sir:

We are indeed sorry that our position is causing so much trouble, and we greatly appreciate the effort which officials are making to solve the problems connected with the C.O.s. It is with a desire to aid that this is written.

Government has a very large tract of land in Arizona, in the Pima In-

dian Reservation. A high tension wire line runs from the Roosevelt Dam to five or six good wells equipped with electric pumps. The idea was to have the Indians develop this into a farming community, but they did nothing. It is lying idle.

Would government consider letting the Mennonite Church, or a number of responsible men have this land, or a part of it with the equipment, for the period of the war and as much longer as will be necessary to gather the crops then in the

ground on the conditions that we would take 150 or 200 C. O. boys on to the land, clean it up and farm it to the best possible advantage for government. A good agriculturalist would be necessary to oversee the work, but he may be had at a nominal wage. The boys would work for board and clothes and the mere pittance of five dollars per month. This would be for a little spending money. Much would not be good. The railroad fare to the reservation and to their homes after the war to be paid by government. All above actual expenses to be given to war sufferers in Belgium, France and Armenia.

A number of the boys are good teachers, college men, and could put in part of the time teaching the Indians agriculture with the hope of inspiring them sufficiently that they would continue the work after the C. O. boys were gone.

The soil is very fertile and would produce good crops of cotton (the best in America), alfalfa, wheat and corn. This is evidenced by the crops raised just off the reservation on the same kind of soil.

I await your answer, and if favorable will take up the matter at once with others so as to be ready for the work as soon as possible. They could live in tents in that climate.

Respectfully submitted,
[J. S. Hartzler]

WAR DEPARTMENT.
Washington.

October 31, 1918

Reverend J. S. Hartzler
Scottdale
Pennsylvania

My dear Mr. Hartzler:

When in Washington on Monday I went over the Pima project with a specialist in the Department of Agriculture who is familiar with the possibilities of the Pima district. The acquaintance he has with this district leads him to confirm every statement you have made about it and its possibilities.

I found a feeling, however, in Washington that, in view of the possibility of placing practically all of the c.o. boys we have to advantage in farm projects already under way in various states, it would be unwise to undertake a new venture which might possibly have to be dropped before it would really come into being as a farm venture. Should the war last, however, beyond our expectation, I know that it would be worth while to consider this matter.

Sincerely yours,

[signed] R. C. McCrea

Columbia University
New York City

News and Notes

Descendants of Henry Shrock and Barbara Miller from the Year 1807 to 1971 has been compiled and published by Oscar R. Miller, Box 133, Berlin, Ohio 44610. The book has 121 pages, twenty-five pictures, plus charts and maps. It sells for \$3.00 postpaid.

Joseph (1827-1914) and Peter (1833-1911) Schertz, Two Sons of Joseph Schertz (1800-1895), by Mrs. Harold K. Schertz, 67 pp., was published November 1971. This mimeographed volume, about 8½" x 11", on the descendants of Joseph Schertz is listed at \$3.50. Mrs. Schertz lives at Saybrook, Illinois 61770. Eight photographs add to the value of the volume.

Hendrik J. Reitsma, University of Georgia makes mention of the Mennonites in his article "Crop and Livestock Production in the Vicinity of the United States-Canada Border," (*Professional Geographer*, July 1971, pp. 216-221): "A large number of farmers in southern Manitoba are of recent European origin, with local concentrations of Mennonites from western Russia. Some of these people, especially the Mennonites, have a tradition of flax growing (both for fiber and seed), which they have continued in their 'new' environment. To illustrate this, may it be pointed out that in one such Mennonite-settled area, located in the immediate vicinity of the border and about 25 miles west of the Red River, flaxseed (in 1966) ranked as the number one crop, occupying 30 per cent of the cropland." (Information courtesy Professor James E. Landing, University of Illinois at Chicago Circle.)

BOOK REVIEWS

(Continued from Page 12)

icism and Protestantism that nudged the cause of toleration along to fruition. It must be remembered that it was as much or more the social origins of Anabaptism and its identification with the lower classes than its radical theology that occasioned the predominant distrust of Anabaptism.

This book bears a dedication "to all those who have suffered, and still suffer, from religious, racial and social intolerance." It is one of the World University Library series but does not carry a distracting volume number. It is a notable piece of bookmaking, both in terms of its size, format, binding, and price! It is furthermore beautifully illustrated with fifteen full color and seventy-one black and white photographs. It fills a significant place of its own and provides the documentation

needed to understand more fully another highly significant aspect of the total scene which began to unfold with the Reformation. The outcome is even yet in real question!

—Gerald C. Studer

The Joyful Community. Benjamin Zablocki. Baltimore, Md.: Penguin Books, Inc., 1971. 362 pp. \$1.95.

This book is a sociologist's account of the Bruderhof—an experiment in communal living now in its third generation—but it is admittedly not intended as a purely sociological document. Rather, *The Joyful Community* was written because the author believes that the Bruderhof experiment is fundamentally related to mankind's undying quest for brotherhood. The overall impression the reader receives is that for Zablocki this particular communal experiment has more soundness and likelihood of success than most any other communitarian experiment known. In this book's more than three hundred pages he spells out in candid and vigorous detail what he believes the necessary ingredients are and how he found them operating. He describes his findings "warts 'n all" but his picture of the Bruderhof comes off as far more appealing and with far more integrity than that of any other similar attempt.

I believe the reader of this book would do well to read Appendix B first, for it is there that the author explains his purpose and his qualifications to write this book. His qualifications are as much experiential as academic. He says: "The main thing I have to offer in this book . . . is an account of what I saw and heard and how I was moved by it." He and his wife lived in the community at Woodcrest for nearly 3 months. He explains:

They did not like the idea of a sociological study, but they said I could come since I also had a personal interest in the community and a desire to understand the life from inside instead of merely analyzing it from without. . . . I assured them that I would conduct no "surveys" while I was there, do everything possible to fit into the life, and remain open to their Christian message as well. The arrangement was that we would be treated the same as any other guests. That is, we would both work full time in whatever departments of labor we were assigned, and we would receive free room and board from the community.

Generally, it is the sheer intensity of the story that will keep the reader both reading and evaluating his own spiritual condition, especially if he is a professing Christian. To learn

that a novice's baptism was delayed because he answered "Yes, but not this year" to the question whether he believed literally that the kingdom of God was coming to earth, seems a little severe though perhaps this degree of lassitude on the part of most Christians today accounts for much of Christianity's weakness. To learn further that at the time this book was written there had been no celebration of the Lord's Supper for five or six years because something less than a full unity prevailed also seems extreme though it may account also for the Lord's saying no more about the frequency of observance than "as oft as ye do it."

Zablocki says that the Bruderhof as a living church, attempting to be a vessel for the effervescent Holy Spirit, "is particularly prone to . . . a . . . periodic cycling of crisis and euphoria." But then, we realize upon reflection that Acts and the Epistles provide grounds for the same impression. I am definitely considering posting in the church I am pastoring a copy of that "First Law of Sannerz" reprinted here which is posted in many places in each hof of this Society. It is an admonition to strictly live out the prohibition against talking either openly or hiddenly against a brother or sister, against their characteristics, and, under no circumstances, behind their backs!

The assumption, that the greater the psychic leap the new member has to make the more severely will he then adhere to the tenets of his new belief, is illustrated by the profound simplicity and all-inclusiveness of the novitiate and baptismal vows reprinted as Appendix A. One might expect an authoritarianism in such a community. But instead the author notes the sparsity of specific behavioral norms and suggests that it illustrates the truth of an ancient Taoist proverb which says: "When the Way is lost, then come laws . . ."

There is a wealth of insight in these pages—insights that will enable a more accurate diagnosis of any Christian congregation and at the same time suggest what is needed to correct the condition and maintain the health of the Body of Christ.

The Joyful Community has been described as "the best and most useful book on communes that's been written" and this reviewer knows of no better book than this on the current market. It can be used as a handbook in the formation of community. The price is, of course, commendably low, though to be sure the format and binding may not endure the hard usage that the contents deserve.

—Gerald C. Studer

Book Reviews

When Apples Are Ripe. Geraldine Gross Harder. Scottsdale, Pa.: Herald Press. 1972. 223 pp. \$4.95 hardcover; \$3.95 softcover.

It seems no one entertains any hope that Clayton Kratz might still be living somewhere in Russia. If he were, he would be 76 years of age by now, and surely some word would have come through to us even though it has not been easy to get news from Russian Mennonites during most of the intervening years. It is generally believed that Clayton died in a prison camp from some disease rather than by a firing squad.

Young Clayton Kratz was a modern American Mennonite martyr who went to Russia as one of the first three Mennonite relief workers and dropped out of the picture in early November, 1920. The Kratz family attended the Blooming Glen Mennonite Church.

Geraldine Harder is a Mennonite minister's wife who brings to her account years of experience and dedication as a mother, writer, elementary teacher, and a term of MCC service in Europe. She furthermore grew up in the same community as her subject. This is the first full-length biography of Kratz and is written for juveniles and older.

The Clayton Kratz story has been told in brief, published articles over the years, alluded to in connection with the history of Mennonite relief work, and mentioned in sermons and young peoples Bible Meeting talks. But never before this book, has an attempt been made to tell it whole and for children aged ten years and up.

Mrs. Harder tells a good story, tying the reliable core of facts together deftly and with imagination and plausibility. It has a touch of romanticism about it, though not excessively so, and, anyway, this is the way memories linger among people. This might be described best as an historical biography and it is clear that her research has been thorough and balanced.

This reviewer feels a certain closeness to the story due to a curious and largely unrelated series of tidbits that are somewhat intertwined with it. I have admired the Clayton Kratz story since first hearing it as a child growing up in a Mennonite community. In the course of the ministry, I have used the Kratz story as a prime illustration more than once in sermons, once especially in a Memorial Day sermon when the point was that he is the kind of hero Christians ought to celebrate rather than military ones. I have had the privilege of meeting the fiancée, Edith, who waited in vain

for Clayton's return and who subsequently married and lives near my childhood home in Ohio. Then too I recall with appreciation that period of time while a student at Goshen College when I was teamed with the author in connection with a Sunday house-to-house visitation program in a slum on the edge of Elkhart. I count as a close friend and brother, Howard Yoder of Wooster, Ohio, who was one of the two-man team sent into the Volga River region in Russia in 1921 after order was restored again in order to fight the famine raging in that area.

The author has woven into her story some aspects of wider local color such as a brief account of the early Mennonites in Germantown as well as unapologetic mention of Kratz's appreciation for a book on prayer written by Harry Emerson Fosdick, for years the epitome of modernism. It is fortunate that this whole story is now available in an attractive format for children of all ages and Christian traditions. Allan Eitzen has provided some excellent drawings to illustrate the story.

—Gerald C. Studer

The Rise of Toleration. Henry Kamen. New York: McGraw-Hill Books. 1967. 256 pp. \$4.95.

The concept of freedom of worship has become so entrenched in our way of thinking that it is easy to forget that it was once, often quite literally, a burning issue. One of the major consequences of the Protestant Reformation was the proliferation of sects such as Anabaptism. In an age of faith, how much deviation from the generally accepted "truth" was permissible and how far was toleration of "heresy" compatible with the maintenance of the civil peace and well-being? Prior to the Reformation, nothing had brought the issue of religious toleration into such sharp focus for well over a thousand years.

Kamen, lecturer in history at the University of Warwick since 1966,

traces in this book the development of the idea of toleration in its formative period — from Erasmus and the humanists of the early 1500s to the precursors of the Enlightenment at the turn of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. He describes in fascinating and significant detail the political and social forces which, along with key individuals, combined to produce a wider acceptance of the idea of toleration.

What is revealed disconcertingly by this study is that the development of toleration is by no means regular, but that instead it suffers periodic and prolonged reverses. Some countries are today further from full liberty than they were five centuries ago. But this is not surprising when one learns, for example, how quickly an advocate of toleration can become its enemy — as for example, in the case of Martin Luther.

Another idea not often encountered as it is here is the thesis which gives the Catholics a good deal of the credit for the progress in the movement toward religious toleration. The author points out that it was Catholic Poland that was the first great European country to recognize religious toleration in its constitution; and that it was Maryland in the New World that was the first colony in the history of the world to be established on the foundation of complete religious liberty. Cases are recorded of Catholics being prosecuted for offending the beliefs of Protestants! We could have known all along had we read the *Martyrs Mirror* statistically that the Protestants executed more martyrs than did the Catholics by at least a thousand!

This book helps to place the Anabaptist contribution to freedom of religion in a more balanced perspective. No other movement receives as many page-listings in the index as Anabaptism, yet there were many other advocates within both Cathol-

(Continued on Page 11)

Church and State in Times of War

The original idea for this issue surfaced last October. Dr. Grant M. Stoltzfus, Eastern Mennonite College, had just completed researching the extensive Peace Problems Committee files, located in the Archives of the Mennonite Church, and requested Xerox copies of a representative selection of letters and documents. The story was so well told in these documents themselves, and many aspects seemed so aktuell, that the BULLETIN editor asked Stoltzfus about the possibility of a special issue focusing upon the Mennonites and the First World War. Stoltzfus then suggested a limited set of documents which became the basis for this issue. Some of his interpretive comment has also found its way into the reference notes. Dr. Guy F. Hersberger, Goshen, Indiana, the acknowledged expert since the 1920s in this whole field of the Mennonites and war, made further suggestions which were also incorporated into the story. The Editor then made the final selection, including two items from the Civil War era, and wrote most of the interpretive comment. L. G.

MENNONITE HISTORICAL BULLETIN

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THE COMING OF THE AMISH TO ONTARIO



Grosser Gott Wir Loben Dich

Ontario and Virginia, we noted in the last BULLETIN, are celebrating sesquicentennials this month. The 1 August 1972 issue of the Gospel Herald and the current issue of On The Line both have interpretive articles on the Ontario story, to which we refer the reader: "150th Anniversary for Amish," by Dorothy S. Sauder; and "The Journey of an Amish Pioneer," by Jan Gleysteen. Gleysteen also created the Ontario emblem, reproduced below. The other short account on Christian Nafziger, the Amishman who trekked to Ontario in the first place (1822), is reprinted from the 5 May 1836 issue of the Canada Museum, the first paper published in Kitchener (called Berlin at the time).

The Ontario Sesquicentennial festivities fall during the week preceding the Canadian Thanksgiving, October 9, 1972. An historical pageant by Urie Bender will highlight the Amish saga, from the time of the unfortunate splintering during the 1690s leading to the Amish division, to a contemporary renewed affirmation of the Christian faith.

Other happenings are: the Martyrs Mirror Oratorio, homecomings, fellowship meals, tours, and displays. The Historical Committee will also convene at this time, beginning October 6. (L. G.)

TRISSELS MENNONITE MEETING HOUSE: 1822 - 1972

The building was unimposing by almost anyone's standards. A log structure of only twenty by twenty-five feet, it stood on a little knoll overlooking the "brush" country southwest of Broadway. To the Mennonites of Virginia this building has taken on historic proportions.

Exact records are no longer available. Although the deed to the land is dated 1823, strong local tradition says the building was constructed in 1822, and given the name Trissels, but it was also referred to in the early days as the Brush Church. This was the first meeting house built solely by the Mennonites in Virginia, and has become the historical progenitor of the churches of the Virginia Conference.

The Mennonites came into the Shenandoah Valley early in the eighteenth century, mostly by way of Pennsylvania, and had migrated in some

TRISSELS: 1822 - 1972 (Continued)

strength prior to the Revolutionary War, settling in what are now the counties of Frederick, Shenandoah, and Page. Later, but still prior to the Revolutionary War, they had moved south into the counties of Rockingham and Augusta.

For almost a hundred years the Mennonites of Virginia built no meeting houses of their own. This was perhaps due to lack of effective leadership, but it may have been a conscious, purposeful defense of the house-church concept. There is some evidence that this latter idea had its strong advocates among the local church leaders.

Prior to the Revolution the strongest colony of Mennonites in Virginia centered around Luray in Page County. It is probable that the Mennonites shared in the building and use of the old Hamburg Church near Luray which is now an historic landmark.

Following the Revolution the area along the North Fork of the Shenandoah and the Linville Creek watershed from Timberville and Broadway to Singers Glen (then Mountain Valley) became the stronghold of the Mennonite settlements in Virginia. For a number of generations this was the most thickly populated Mennonite area and the source of the church's leadership. Eventually the numerical center of Mennonite population in the Shenandoah Valley passed to the Harrisonburg-Dayton communities.

By 1820 the strength of leadership and sense of community among the Mennonites of the Broadway area had developed to the point where the construction of a meeting house was a viable option. So in 1822 the Trissels Church became a reality. Three buildings have borne the name Trissels, all at the same approximate site, but none on the same exact foundation. The first log structure was enlarged to thirty by forty feet about 1850 and covered with siding. In 1900 a sturdy frame structure was erected at the opposite side of the cemetery to the south of the original building. By 1950 a more commodious structure was again needed. This time the building was of brick and located still to the south of the second building. In 1964 an educational wing was added, making a modern and convenient church plant. Michael Shenk is presently pastor of the congregation of 152 members and Linden M. Wenger serves as bishop.

Until 1835 the Virginia church was a part of the Lancaster Conference. In that year the Virginia Conference was separately organized. Soon afterwards the conference was divided into three administrative districts conveniently designated Upper, Middle and Lower. The Lower which comprised the northern part of Rockingham County is now the Northern District of the Virginia Conference and includes the churches of northern Rockingham, Page, Shenandoah and Frederick Counties and Hardy County, West Virginia.

In the early days many of the conference sessions and other important meetings were held at Trissels. During the Civil War the Mennonites of the area suffered hardship and decline. In the closing years of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries there was a remarkable recovery, and an evangelistic expansion to the west in the highlands of Virginia and West Virginia which added greatly to the strength of the conference. Recent outreach has again penetrated some of the territory once lost to Mennonite witness in Page, Shenandoah and Frederick Counties.

Trissels is no longer the largest congregation in the Northern District of the Virginia Conference, but for 150 years it has been active and aggressive in the work of the Mennonite Church in Virginia.

The sesquicentennial celebration is scheduled for September 29, 30, and October 1, 1972, at the Trissels Meetinghouse. J. C. Wenger of Goshen, Indiana, will be guest speaker for the occasion. An historical slide set is being prepared under the direction of Milo Stahl, head of the Learning Resources department of Eastern Mennonite College. Miss Grace Showalter, librarian of the Eastern Mennonite College Historical Library, has written a narrative drama: *Generation to Generation*. Other centennial features will be the unveiling of an historical marker, an old-fashioned singing from the traditional hymn books used in the local Mennonite churches, and a display of historical artifacts.

—Linden M. Wenger, Harrisonburg, Virginia

Death of Christian Naffziger

(From the 5 May 1836 issue of the Canada Museum, the first paper published in Berlin [today, renamed Kitchener.] L. G.)

Mr. Naffziger was born in Rhenish Bavaria in 1776. In 1821 he left his family to look for a new home, and reached New Orleans in January 1822. In Lancaster county he was given money and an old horse and came in January 1822 to Upper Canada. He went to the Governor and was granted a piece of land west of Waterloo, the present Wilmot township. Then he returned to London and went to the King who granted to him and his fellow country men each 50 acres. In January 1823 he returned to his family. Several of his friends here agreed to advance the money for travelling and in the spring of 1826 he and his family and other people set out. He arrived in Philadelphia and later was taken care of by people of Bucks County and given a welcome. In October he reached here with his wife, three sons and two daughters and in 1827 he took possession of his land in Wilmot.

News and Notes

LEONARD GROSS

This shorter (four page) issue of the BULLETIN balances out the longer, special July 1972 issue. Total pagination for Volume XXXIII remains the usual thirty-two pages.

The rather complete spread of types of materials printed in the July 1972 BULLETIN was made possible largely through the generous permission of two men to print several of their personal documents: O. B. Gerig, Venice, Florida; and C. L. Graber, Goshen, Indiana. Both men were active since the time of the First World War in the cause of peace and social concerns; the former, through the League of Nations, and the latter within the structure of the Mennonite Church.

By Hex is a musical based on a book by John Rengier. Music and lyrics are by Howard Blankman. Pastor Gerald C. Studer, Scottdale, Pennsylvania, who experienced the musical at the Mountain Playhouse, Stoughton Lake, Jennerstown, Pennsylvania, wrote in July 1972: "It was (Continued on Page 4)

GENERATION TO GENERATION: A PAGEANT FOR THE TRISSELS MENNONITE CHURCH SESQUICENTENNIAL

By GRACE SHOWALTER, Harrisonburg, Virginia

(Excerpts from a thirty-eight
page manuscript:)

About 1778 the first Mennonite pioneers began to move into Rockingham County. The trek to this new frontier settlement was perhaps made by a few directly from the German Palatinate to Virginia. Some Mennonite families moved South from the eastern settlement around Bucks and Montgomery counties, Pennsylvania, while others came from Lancaster and York counties. Some pioneers stopped in Maryland or in Page, Frederick and Shenandoah counties in Virginia before coming to Rockingham. After crossing the river near Harper's Ferry, the settlers found a great valley spotted with massive woodlands and wide prairies. Some had found the counties of Page, Frederick, and Shenandoah to their liking, while others pushed south to Rockingham County with its marshlands near Timberville, the brush area west of Broadway, the Linville Creek bottom land, and west Rockingham. Most of these pioneers filtered into the county from about 1778 to 1800.

They came,
Not for adventure's sake,
But having just enough of faith
To seek a better land and place
To create life
And make a home for sons
And son's sons.

Southward they came
With hope—
With hope and faith that this would
be the time and place—
Their own time and place
To hew and build
To sew and reap
To worship God in peace.

Upward and yet southward they
moved,
Guided by the Shenandoah River as
it forced its crooked way among
the hills and rocks.
Each spring-fed tributary they
viewed as likely place to make
their journey's end.
With pioneer zeal they watched for
coveted water springs
The most likely place to build a
home.

Narrow Passage Creek,
And the Shenandoah's Southern Fork
Were found by some to be the place
to make their journey's end.
Others pushed still south until they
came to where the Shenandoah's
Northern Fork was surrounded
by a marsh.

Some chose the spot where Turley's
Creek and Cedar Run joined the
river's travel north,
While others followed Linville's
Creek and chose its bottom land.
Dry River and Muddy Creek gave
welcome home to those who ven-
tured further south.

Minnicks, Nicewanders, Holsingers,
Drivers, Branners, Rollers, Shanks,
Showalters, Wengers, Funks, Beerys,
Heatwoles, Hildebrands, Geils,
Swopes,
Blossers, Bowmans, Burkholders,
Brennemans, Rhodes, Allebachs,
Swanks.

In 1835 the new church in Virginia
became independent and met in its
first official Virginia Conference.
Bishop Henry Shank, was by then too
old to attend. The ministers present
were Abraham Niswander, Peter
Burkholder, Daniel Good, Frederick
Rhodes, Benjamin Wenger, and Mar-
tin Kindig.

In about 1836 or 1837, likely after
the death of Bishop Henry Shank,
Peter Burkholder was ordained
bishop. It was he who is given the
credit for dividing the Virginia
church into church districts. Jacob
Hildebrand became bishop in Au-
gusta County after 1845. This area
was called the Upper District. Peter
Burkholder, who had moved from
the Broadway area near Trissels
Church, where he was reared, to
west Rockingham, served the Mid-
dle District. Daniel Good, of Sing-
ers Glen, was bishop in the north-
ern part of the county known as the
Lower District.

Typical of Peter Burkholder's
ability and of his importance to the
young church in Virginia was the
The Confession of Faith published in
1837. To an old Mennonite Con-
fession, Peter added essays. The work
was translated by Joseph Funk.

As 1861 drew near, the tensions
of approaching war were most cer-
tainly felt by the Virginia Menno-
nites. They were opposed to slav-
ery, but lived peaceably with their
slave holding neighbors, even shar-
ing or trading farm laborers. We
know this practice created some eth-
ical questions for them. In a con-
ference in April 1864, the leaders
took the following action in relation
to hiring slaves:

... inasmuch as it is against our
creed and discipline to own or
traffic in slaves; so it is also for-
bidden for a brother to hire a
slave unless such a slave be en-
titled to receive the pay for such
labor by the consent of his owner.
But where neighbors exchange
labor, the labor of slaves may be
received.

In early October of 1864 Sheri-
dan's well known raid was made
through the Shenandoah Valley.
The object of the raid was to destroy
the food supply of the Southern
army. Some residents suffered com-
plete loss as the soldiers passed
through the Valley. One of these
was Preacher Samuel Shank of
Broadway.

About 200 years after the coming
of the Mennonites to the valley and
150 years after the building of Tris-
sels, the first permanent church, the
Mennonite Church in the Northern
District is 1400 members strong. It
now has eighteen churches and
twenty-one preaching appointments.
It was the courage, hope and faith
of our fathers that made this pos-
sible. One generation built. Other
generations have built on their work.

Men and women
Moving
In time,
Their present deep-rooted
in the past,
But living in anticipation
of the future.
The future,
the birthright of one born,
Anticipated—by those who lived and
worked and prayed,
The future
Anticipated—
By those who built houses
For worship:
Trissels, Plains, Zion, Woodland,
Lindale,
Liberty, Bachman, Brannemans,
New Dale,
Salem, Buckhorn, Bethel, Valley
View,
Mt. Hermon, Hebron, Morning View.
Churches
for teaching
The Word
That their children
And children's children
Might know
The Word,
The Word in us,
The Word
Among us.

Amish Publishing House

By DAVID LUTHY

The following article was submitted at the request of the BULLETIN editor. In a cover letter, Luthy stated: "Your request for a short article on Pathway frustrated me. First of all because I am not keen on writing about something I am directly involved in, lest it sound like a used car salesman thumping the bumper of the car with his cane. For I believe very much in the work we are doing and do not seek publicity for it. Secondly, it is difficult to write on one page about something I have seen growing from a shared operation to a full time publishing effort. . . . Well, anyway I wrote something." (L. G.)

On a gravel road five miles northeast of Aylmer, Ontario stands a two-story tile block building. In front of it are hitching posts, and in a front window is a small sign: PATHWAY PUBLISHERS, Religious and Educational Literature.

Founded in 1963, Pathway Publishers is a non-profit organization staffed entirely by members of the Old Order Amish. From the beginning, Pathway's concern has been to provide the Old Order Amish with printed materials they could not purchase elsewhere.

Since 1963 twenty-nine books have been published, thirteen of which are by Amish authors. Besides publishing original material, Pathway has brought back into print such Mennonite books as Christmas Carol Kauffman's NOT REGINA, the COMPLETE WRITINGS OF MENNO SIMONS (German), MARTYRS MIRROR (German), and the DEITRICH PHILIP HANDBOOK (English). It also has published an English translation of the Mennonite prayerbook, DIE ERNSTHAFTE CHRISTENPFLICHT.

A major concern of Pathway Publishers has been the publishing of books for Amish parochial schools: TIPS FOR TEACHERS is a compilation of ideas from 80 parochial school teachers; SCHOOL BELLS RINGING is a teacher's manual written by a long-time Amish teacher; DAS NEUE KINDERLIEDER is a compilation of German songs for school-aged children; and the PATHWAY READING SERIES is a set of readers for grades 5-8 comprised of 1,700 pages with nearly half the material by Amish authors.

Pathway's publishing efforts, however, have not centered primarily on books, but on three monthly magazines: *The Blackboard Bulletin* (a teacher-pupil-parent magazine with a circulation of 6,200), *Young Companion* (a magazine for young adults with a circulation of 10,400), and

Family Life (a general interest magazine geared to all ages with a circulation of 10,900).

Although Pathway Publishers is not officially under church control, the directors have been careful to operate within the accepted pattern of the Amish Brotherhood and hope to continue to merit the confidence of Amish and Mennonites everywhere.

Grebel, Mantz, and Blaurock Come to Life on Canvas

In October 1971 a self-appointed ad hoc committee of three, Arnold Cressman, Jan Gleysteen, and Gerald Studer, all of Scottdale, Pennsylvania, hired a pilot to fly them to Southwest Harbor, Maine. Their mission was to negotiate with artist Oliver Wendell Schenk for a triad of paintings of the founding fathers of the Mennonite Church: George Blaurock, Conrad Grebel, and Felix Mantz. The three had been fired up with a stirring weekend of celebration centering in the Christopher Dock Bicentennial, and the penetrating discussions during the annual Historical Committee meetings convening at the same time and place.

Artist Schenk responded by probing into the life stories of the three Anabaptists and their historic import. He read Fritz Blanke's classic *Brothers in Christ*, and other appropriate literature; and gradually but firmly became empathetically involved in the project: How ought he attempt to interpret the Reformation makings of a man through the medium of art? Finally Schenk accepted the challenge.

The committee finally agreed on a complete price of \$2500.—, an amount which would allow Schenk to carry on the needed in-depth research and travel necessary to become intimately acquainted with the widely-differing character of each of the three sixteenth-century Swiss Brethren leaders. The Laurelville Church Center, Mount Pleasant, Pennsylvania, sponsored the project, well aware that outside of Dutch Mennonitism, almost nothing within the visual arts had been attempted in way of Anabaptist interpretation.

The conception and quickening of this idea developed in the interim to the point that the unveiling was scheduled for September 22-24, 1972, the time of the fall meeting of the Laurelville Association.

Oliver Wendell Schenk is the artist/creator of the widely-used and best-known conception of Christopher Dock. Almost forty years ago he made the original pen-and-ink

drawing for the 1933 Goshen College annual, the *Maple Leaf*. In 1963, while living in Paris, Schenk was commissioned to paint a similar oil, which presently is displayed at the Christopher Dock High School, Lansdale, Pennsylvania. The artist frequently signs his paintings "Tom Schenk." (L. G.)

NEWS AND NOTES

(Continued from Page 2)

a quite responsible representation of Amish life and thought. The Bishop came through as a lovable character and the way of life was if anything commended rather than ridiculed."

The Amish are used and misused. One instance where they are used is in the summer 1972 issue of *Alive Now!* (pp. 46-47), where no mention is made of the Amish, but where appears a picture of a bona fide Amish buggy passing an Amish farm on a country lane. The title of the editorial which the photograph illustrates is "Life is a Journey." (G.C.S.)

Book Review

The Anabaptists and the Czech Brethren in Moravia 1526-1628. By J. K. Zeman. The Hague: The Netherlands: Mouton & Co. 1970. 407 pp. \$20.00.

In the April 1968 BULLETIN readers may recall a review of Dr. Zeman's *Historical Topography of Moravian Anabaptism*. Now Dr. Zeman's greater work is published and it constitutes a first exploration and systematic research of the connection between the *Unitas Fratrum* and the Left Wing of the Reformation. This book seeks to clarify two main questions: Was there a genetic influence of the *Unitas Fratrum* upon the rise of sixteenth-century Anabaptism and what were the contacts and relationships between the two groups when they lived side by side for a whole century in Moravia?

The author is Associate Professor of Church History at Acadia University in Canada. Dr. Zeman is of Czech origin and was trained at the University of Prague under the best contemporary Czech historians of Hussitism. He is an immigrant to Canada and a Baptist minister. Most of his research for this book was done in Zurich, a cradle of Anabaptism. The study is based on Czech, German and Latin sources most of which are here utilized for the first time. He presents evidence that Moravian Anabaptism was made up of several streams and that it can not be identified solely with communal Hutteritism.

—G. C. S.